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TO

His Grace the

Duke of Dorset.

I Can plead no other Motive, for the Interruption I now give Your Grace, than the high and juſt Eſteem all Men of Literature have for the Writings of *L'Abbé Vertot*, and ſuch an Author only, is worthy of ſuch a Patron.

DEDICATION.

ADDRESSES of this Kind are generally filled with the moſt fulſome Panegyric, which is only fit for thoſe who can brook ſuch mean Adulation: But Your GRACE cannot be flatter'd; every body that knows the Duke of *DORSET*, will ſay there is no praiſing Him, as there is no loving Him more than he deſerves. But, like other Great Minds, Your GRACE may be blind to Your own Merit, and imagine I am complimenting, or doing ſomething worſe, whilſt I am only giving Your juſt Character; for which Reaſon, however fond I am of ſo noble a Theme, I ſhall decline attempting it. Only this I muſt beg Leave to ſay, Your GRACE cannot be enough admired for the Univerſal Learning which You are Maſter of; Your Judgment in Diſcerning; Your Indulgence in Excuſing; The great Stedfaſtneſs of

Your

Your Soul; Your Contempt of Power and Grandeur; Your Love for Your Country; Your Paſſion for Liberty; and (which is the beſt Characteriſtic) Your Deſire of doing good to Mankind. I can hardly leave ſo agreeable a Subject, but I cannot ſay more than the World already knows.

YOUR GRACE'S Illuſtrious Father has left a Name behind him as glorious as any Perſon of his Age: It is unneceſſary to enter into the Particulars of his Character; to mention his Name, is the greateſt Panegyric. Immediately to ſucceed that Great Man, muſt have been extremely to the Diſadvantage of any other Perſon, but it is far from being ſo to Your GRACE; it makes Your Virtues but the more conſpicuous, and convinces us, the Nation is not without one Man worthy of being his Illuſtrious Succeſſor.

DEDICATION.

I HAVE not any thing more to trouble Your GRACE withal, than only to wiſh You a long and happy Continuance of the Honours You ſo deſervedly wear; and moſt humbly ask Your GRACE's Pardon, for the Liberty I have taken to ſubſcribe myſelf,

Your GRACE's

Moſt Obedient,

And moſt Devoted

Humble Servant,

E. C.

THE TRANSLATOR's PREFACE.

Amongſt all the Hiſtorians of the laſt Century, as none have acquired, ſo not any of them have deſerved, a greater Reputation than our Author.

And indeed there could not be any Man fitter to undertake this Work than L'Abbé Vertot, *as being Maſter of an excellent Style, and having all the Opportunities imaginable of informing himſelf of the Truth; beſides, he could have no Intereſt in ſpeaking partially of either the* One *or the* Other *Party; and therefore he might ſay, much more juſtly than* Saluſt, de Conjuratione, Quam veriſſime potero, paucis abſolvam; eoque magis, quod mihi à Spe, Metu, Partibus Reipublicæ Animus liber eſt.

His Impartiality is demonſtrable, from ſeveral little Circumſtances of this Hiſtory: Did he not acknowledge, that the Inquiſition

SITION *is oftner a Terror to* honeſt Men, *than to* Rogues? *Does he not paint the Archbiſhop of* Braga *in all the Colours of a Traitor? And I am fully perſuaded, that there is not one Paſſage in the following Work, but what really deſerves our ſtricteſt Attention. We ſhall ſee a Nation involved in Woe and Ruin; and all their Miſeries proceeding from the Bigotry and Superſtition of a Monarch, whoſe Zeal hurries him to inevitable Deſtruction, and whoſe Piety makes him ſacrifice the Lives of many thouſand Chriſtians, without ſo much as having the Satisfaction of converting one obſtinate Infidel.*

Such was the Fate of the raſh Don Sebaſtian, *who ſeemed born to be the Bleſſing of his People, and the Terror of his Foes; and who would have made a juſt, a wiſe, a truly pious Monarch, had not his Education been intruſted to a Jeſuit. Nor is he the only unfortunate Prince, who, governed by intriguing and inſinuating Churchmen, have proved the Ruin of their Kingdom, and in the End have loſt not only their Crowns, but their Lives.*

We ſhall ſee thoſe People, who, no longer able to bear a heavy Yoke, reſolve to ſhake it off, and venture their Lives and their Fortunes for their Liberty: A Conſpiracy *prevail, (if an Intent to revolt from an* Uſurping Tyrant *may be called a* Conſpiracy) *in*

which

which ſo many Perſons, whoſe Age, Quality and Intereſt were very different, are engaged; and by the Courage and public Spirit of a few, a happy and glorious Revolution *brought about.*

But ſcarce is the new King ſettled upon his Throne, and endeavouring to confirm his Authority Abroad, *when a horrid Conſpiracy is forming againſt him at* Home; *we ſhall ſee a* Biſhop *at the Head of the Traitors, who, though a* bigotted Church-man, *makes no Scruple of borrowing the Aſſiſtance of the moſt* profeſſed Enemies of the Church, *to deliver Her out of Danger, and to Aſſaſſinate his lawful King: But happily is the whole Plot diſcovered, and thoſe who were engaged in it meet with the juſt Rewards of* Treaſon *and* Rebellion; *the* Block, *and the* Gallows. *Nor is it the firſt time that our own Nation has ſeen an* Archbiſhop *doing his King and Country all the Miſchief in his Power.*

After the Death of her Huſband, *we ſee a* Queen *of an extraordinary Genius, and uncommon Courage, taking the* Regency *upon Her; and though at firſt oppreſſed with a Load of Misfortunes, riſes againſt them all, and in the end triumphs over her Enemies.*

Under the next Reign we ſee the Kingdom almoſt invaded by the ancient Uſurper, *and ſaved only by the Skill of a Wiſe and Brave General,*

General, who had much ado to deal with the Enemy Abroad, *whilſt the People were divided at* Home; *and loudly complained of the Riots and Debaucheries of their* Monarch, *and the tyrannic Conduct of his* Miniſter. *But we find how impoſſible a thing it is, that ſo violent Government ſhould laſt long; his Brother (a Prince whoſe Virtues were as Conſpicuous, as the other's Vices were Odious) to preſerve the Crown in their Family, is forced to depoſe him, and take the Government upon himſelf.* Ita Imperium ſemper ad optimum quemque ab minus bono transfertur.

PREFACE

To the laſt EDITION in *French.*

ALthough the *Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy in Portugal* has borne Three Impreſſions, we may juſtly ſay, that this Fourth Edition is rendered a new Work, by the various Paſſages which the Author has thought fit to inſert; and which are either the Cauſe, or the neceſſary Conſequences of the great Event which is the Subject of this Hiſtory: Nay theſe additional Facts induced the Author to ſubſtitute the Title of *Revolutions* inſtead of that of *Conſpiracy*; which ſeemed not ſo proper for an Enterprize, wherein the moſt conſiderable Perſons who engaged in it were only influenced by the View of reſtoring a Crown to the Prince whom they conſidered as the lawful Heir. The Author now opens the Work with a compendious Retroſpection to the Commencement of this Monarchy; and proceeds to the fatal Revolution which happened in the Reign of Don *Sebaſtian*. He next repreſents the Manner in which the *Caſtilians*, during the Reign of *Philip* II. made themſelves Maſters of this Kingdom; and ſpecifies the Particulars of that fortunate Temerity, by which an inconſiderable Number of *Fidalgos* and *Portugueſe* Gentlemen diſpoſſeſſed the *Spaniards* of

thoſe Dominions, in the Reign of *Philip* IV. and the new Combinations formed by the Partiſans and Creatures of this Prince to re-eſtabliſh his Authority in that State. In a word; When he has placed the Duke of *Braganza* upon the Throne, he deſcends to the Abdication of King *Alphonſo* the Sixth, his Son, and the Regency of Don *Pedro*, the Father of the late reigning Prince.

The Reader will ſee, in the Series of this Work, a Prince, who is ſuppoſed to derive his Deſcent from our Kings of *France*, and to be the Grandſon of *Hugh Capet*, ſignalize his Zeal and Intrepidity of Mind, againſt the *Moors*, and chace them out of Part of the *Portugueſe* Territories; and when he had erected his Conqueſts into a Sovereignty, he appears to be the Stem of the Royal Houſe which now reigns with ſo much Glory. His Succeſſors, by new Victories, preſerved the Dominions he had tranſmitted to them; and after they had frequently triumphed over the Power and Fortitude of the *Caſtilians*, their adjoining Neighbours, carried their Arms into *Aſia* and *Africa*, with an Intention to make conſiderable Eſtabliſhments in thoſe Regions, and to propagate the Knowledge of the True GOD, with whoſe Sacred Name the *Barbarians* were entirely unacquainted; which was a Motive that can never be ſufficiently applauded.

King *Sebaſtian*, influenced by the Example of his Predeceſſors, and not finding any more Infidels to conquer in his own Dominions, extended his Purſuit of them into *Africa* itſelf, at the Head of a Handful of Soldiers; and, with more Zeal than Prudence, attempted to de-

dethrone a Prince, who was well experienced in Military Affairs; and, with an Army of ſixty thouſand Men, put a fatal Period to the Progreſs of Don *Sebaſtian*'s Arms. His Crown was transferred to his Great Uncle, Don *Henry*, who was then in the 67th Year of his Age, and was likewiſe a Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *Evora*; and reigned no longer than ſixteen Months. His Death was ſucceeded by the Pretences of ſeveral Princes, who declared themſelves his Heirs: *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, who was the moſt powerful of all the Candidates, decided the Competition by Force of Arms, and made himſelf Maſter of *Portugal*, by the Valour of the famous Duke of *Alva*, the greateſt General among the *Caſtilians*; and the Succeſſors of that Monarch governed theſe new Territories with the Severity uſually exerciſed to a Country acquired by Conqueſt.

The *Portugueſe*, who are a gallant Nation, and always impatient under a Foreign Yoke, delivered themſelves from that Subjection by a Combination of the Nobility. The Duke of *Braganza* was placed upon the Throne; and though he was not eminent for any Qualifications that conſtitute a great General, he maintained himſelf in his new Dignity, by the Prudence and Moderation of his Government; and particularly by the Abilities and wiſe Counſels of the Queen his Conſort. This Princeſs, after his Death, diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her Capacity in the Art of Governing, through the whole Courſe of a tumultuous Regency, which was incommoded more by the Intrigues of the Court, than the Army of the *Caſtilians*.

Caſtilians. In a Word; The Reader will behold a Son, in whoſe Mind Gratitude had but little Prevalence; and who, when he attained his Majority, diſpoſſeſſed his Mother of the Government, and was afterwards diveſted of his own Authority by the Abilities of a Brother; who, by the Sanction of the Laws, and his own Power and Popularity, deprived him of his Liberty and Crown, and forced him even to reſign his Queen, whom this fortunate Brother afterwards eſpouſed.

Theſe are the Tranſactions related in this Work; which is compiled from the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* Hiſtorians *, in Preference to Foreign Authors; and eſpecially from thoſe Paſſages where the Writers who are the declared Partiſans of the *Spaniſh* Court, acknowledge the Advantages which the *Portugueſe* obtained in this celebrated Revolution.

And it is hoped that impartial Readers will not expect more from an Author, who is neither a *Caſtilian* nor a *Portugueſe*; and who, in his Praiſes or Diſapprobations, is only influenced by that Truth which ſprings from the Events he has related.

APPRO-

* Jo. Marianæ Hiſtoria. Hiſpania illuſtrata. Hiſtor. de Turquet. Reſendius de Antiq. Luſit. Monarchia Luſitania. Conneſtag. Philippus Rex Luſitaniæ. Hiſtoire de Portuga, Par Monſieur de la Neufville. Luſitan. Vindic. Caëtan. Paſſar. de Bello Luſitan. Portugal Reſtaurado de Meneſès. Siri Memoire Recondite. Mercure François. Troubles de Portugal. Memoirs d'Ablancourt.

APPROBATION.

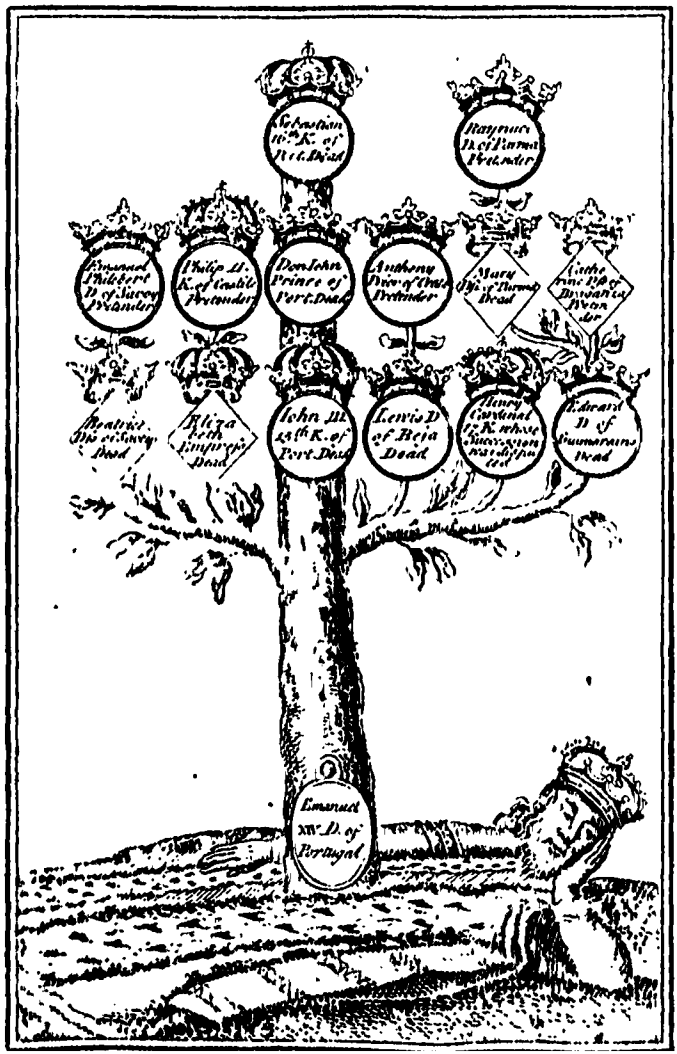
BY Order of my Lord Chancellor, I have read over *L'Abbé* VERTOT's *Hiſtory of the Revolutions of* PORTUGAL.

" *The Name alone of an Hiſtorian ſo juſtly*
" *celebrated as the Author of this Work,*
" *will induce all Readers to eſteem it*
" *highly worthy of their peculiar Atten-*
" *tion. Inſtruction and Entertainment*
" *are equally blended throughout his Per-*
" *formance; and this happy Conjunction*
" *renders all his Labours univerſally de-*
" *lightful. The Beauty of his Narra-*
" *tion, the Purity of his Style, the Per-*
" *ſpicuity of his Expreſſion, the Reality of*
" *his Facts, and the Solidity of the Proofs*
" *by which they are confirmed, are every*
" *where conſpicuous.*

" *The great Improvements which the Author*
" *has made to* this Edition, *renders it a*
" new Work. *His Interſperſions are ſo*
" *judicious, and his Political Reflections ſo*
" *excellent, as muſt deſervedly recommend*
" *it to all thoſe who have bought the* former
" Impreſſions, *which have not only been*
" *received with the greateſt Applauſe in*
" France, *but in* England, Holland,
" Germany, Italy, *and* Spain; *where*
" *this* new Edition *is now expected with*
" *the utmoſt Impatience.* Done at *Paris*
" the 2d Day of *May*, 1726, N. S.

L'Abbé RICHARD.

THE


Sebastian 16th K. of Port. Dead
Raynuce D. of Parma Pretender
Emanuel Philibert D. of Savoy Pretender
Philip II. K. of Castile Pretender
Don John Prince of Port. Dead
Anthony Prior of Crato Pretender
Mary Dss. of Turmo Dead
Catherine Dss. of Braganza Pretender
Beatrice Dss. of Savoy Dead
Eliza both Empress Dead
John III. 13th K. of Port. Dead
Lewis D. of Beja Dead
Henry Cardinal 17 K. whose Succession was disputed
Edward D. of Guimarains Dead
Emanuel XIV. D. of Portugal

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF PORTUGAL.

The general Description of *Portugal.*

PORTUGAL conſtitutes a Part of that extenſive Country called *The* SPAINS*; and moſt of whoſe Provinces are dignified with the Title of Kingdoms. *This*, of *Portugal*, is ſituated to the Weſt of *Caſtile*, on the Banks of the Ocean, where it forms the moſt weſtern Extent of *Europe*. This little State includes no more than an hundred and ten Leagues in Length, and comprehends but fifty in its utmoſt Breadth. The Soil is fertile, the Air healthful, and the uſual Heats of the Climate are tempered with refreſhing Gales, and fruitful Showers. The Crown is Hereditary, and the Authority of the *Sovereign* Abſolute: He makes great Uſe of that formidable Tribunal, *The* INQUISITION, as the chiefeſt Inſtrument of his Policy. The *Portugueſe* are full of Fire, naturally fierce and preſumptuous, and great

* The Dominions of *Spain* bear the Denominations of *Old* and *New Spain.*

Bigots to their Religion, but in reality much more ſuperſtitious than devout. Every thing paſſes for a Prodigy among them; and Heaven, if you can believe them, is never wanting, in the moſt extraordinary Manner, to declare in their Favour.

The ancient Inhabitants and Maſters of this Kingdom.

We are unable to point out the firſt Inhabitants of this Country. The *Portugueſe* Hiſtorians derive them from the Poſterity of TUBAL; and indeed they could not well aſcend much higher, even with the Aſſiſtance of Fiction itſelf. Every Nation is actuated by its own Chimæras, with reſpect to its Original. What we can affirm with the moſt Certainty is, that the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans* contended for the Empire of theſe Provinces, and ſucceſſively poſſeſſed them. The *Alans*, *Swedes* and *Vandals*, and all thoſe barbarous Nations, who, under the general Name of *Goths*, overwhelmed the Empire, at the Beginning of the fifth Century, gained the Dominion of *all the* SPAINS. *Portugal* was ſometimes governed by its own ſelect KINGS, and at other Times became united under the Sovereignty of the Princes of *Caſtile*.

712. This happened in the Beginning of the eighth Century, under the Reign of RODERICK, the laſt King of the *Goths*; the *Moors*, or, more properly, the *Arabians*, Subjects of the Caliph VALID ALMANZOR, came from *Africa* into *Spain*, and ſoon made themſelves Maſters of the Country. Count JULIAN, a *Spaniſh* Nobleman, conducted them thither, and facilitated their Conqueſts, to revenge the Indignity of that diſhonourable Outrage of *Roderick* in repudiating his Daughter.

Theſe

Theſe Infidels extended their Dominion from the *Streights* to the *Pyrenees*, excepting the Mountains of *Aſturia*, where the Chriſtians ſheltered themſelves under the Command of Prince *Pelagus*, who founded the Kingdom of *Leon*, or *Oviedo*.

Portugal ſhared the ſame Fate with the other Provinces of *Spain*, and became ſubject to the *Moors*. Theſe Infidels appointed ſeveral Governors, who, after the Death of their Great *Almanzor*, made themſelves independent of any other Power, and formed themſelves into little Sovereignties. The Emulation, ariſing from their different Intereſts, diſunited them; and their Luxury and Effeminacy ſoon brought about their Deſtruction. 717.

About the Beginning of the twelfth Century they were driven out of *Portugal* by *Henry* Count of *Burgundy*, * Son to *Robert* King of *France*. This Prince, animated with the ſame Zeal which excited ſo many others to engage in the *Holy War*, went into *Spain*, on purpoſe to ſignalize his Courage againſt the Infidels. He firſt bore Arms under the Command of *Rodriguez* of *Bivar*, that experienced Officer ſo highly celebrated under the Name of the *Cid*. And he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in theſe *Religious Wars* in ſuch an extraordinary manner, that *Alphonſo* VI. King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, made him General of his Army. It is affirmed, that Prince *Francis* diſcomfited the *Moors* in ſeventeen pitched Battles, and drove them from the northern Parts of *Portugal*. The King of *Caſtile*, that he might wholly engage ſo great an Officer to his Intereſt, Origin of the Reigning Houſe.

* See a Treatiſe of the *Origin of the Kings of* Portugal. By *Theodore Godefroy*.

gave him one of the Princeſſes, his Daughter *Tereſia*, in Marriage; and, as a juſt Reward of his Victories, beſtowed upon him all thoſe Places from whence he had driven the *Moors*. The Count extended his Dominions by new Conqueſts. He beſieged and took the Cities of *Liſbon*, *Viſé*, and *Conimbra*: He proſecuted his Succeſſes through the three Provinces between *Douro* and *Minia*. *Henry* having formed this grand *Sovereignty*, without being *King*, or without having aſſumed the Title, moſt glorioufly eſtabliſhed the *Monarchy* of *Portugal*.

The Prince *Alphonſo*, his Son, ſucceeded him in his Acquiſitions and Valour, and enlarged the former by daily Conqueſts. There are ſome Heroes who found Empires, and others who loſe them. The Soldiers of Count
1139. *Alphonſo*, upon his obtaining a ſignal Victory over the *Moors*, with one Voice proclaimed him King; and the States General, being aſſembled at *Lamego*, confirmed that auguſt Title, which juſtly devolved to his Succeſſors.

This Family had ſwayed the Scepter of *Portugal* for almoſt the Space of five hundred Years, when Don *Sebaſtian* came to the Crown.*
1557. He was not above three Years of Age when he ſucceeded the old King his Grandfather. During his Minority he was put under the Regency of his Grandmother, *Catharine* of *Auſtria*, Daughter of *Philip* I. King of *Caſtile*, and Siſter to the Emperor *Charles* V. Don *Alexis de Menezes*, a Nobleman remarkable for his ſingular Piety, was appointed Governor to the young King, and the Rev. Father Don *Lewis de Camara*, a Jeſuit, was appointed his Tutor.

From

* See the *Laws* relating to the *Succeſſion*, *Append.* N° 1.

From ſuch judicious Inſtructors, what might not be expected? They filled his Mind with Sentiments of Honour, and his Soul with Devotion. But (which may at firſt appear ſtrange or impoſſible) theſe Notions were too often, and too ſtrongly inculcated in him. *Menezes* was always telling the young Prince what Victories his Predeceſſors had obtained over the *Moors* in the *Indies*, and inmoſt Parts of *Africa*. On the other hand, the Jeſuit was perpetually repreſenting to him, that the Crown of Kings was the immediate Gift of *God*, and that therefore the chiefeſt Duty of a Prince was to propagate the Holy Goſpel, and to have the Word of the *Lord* preached to thoſe Nations who had never heard of the Name of *Chriſt*.

Theſe different Ideas of Honour and Religion, made a deep Impreſſion on the Heart of Don *Sebaſtian*, who was naturally Pious. Scarce therefore had he taken the Government of *Portugal* upon himſelf, but he thought of tranſporting an Army into *Africa*; and to that End he often conferr'd with his Officers, but oftener with his Miſſionaries, and other Eccleſiaſticks.

A Civil War breaking out about this time in *Morocco*, ſeem'd very much to favour his Deſign. The Occaſion was this: *Muley Mahomet* had caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd King of *Morocco*, after the Death of *Abdalla* his Father; *Muley Moluc*, *Abdalla*'s Brother, oppoſed him, objecting that he had aſcended the Throne contrary to the Law of the Cherifs, by which it is ordained, That the Crown ſhall devolve to the King's Brethren, if he has any, and his Sons be excluded the Succeſſion. This occaſion'd a bloody War between the Uncle and the Ne-

phew; but *Muley Moluc*, who was as brave a Soldier as he was a wiſe Commander, defeated *Mahomet*'s Army in three pitch'd Battles, and drove him out of *Africa*.

The exil'd Prince fled for Refuge to the Court of *Portugal*, and finding Acceſs to Don *Sebaſtian*, told him, that notwithſtanding his Misfortunes, there were ſtill a conſiderable Number of his Subjects, who were Loyal in their Hearts, and wanted only an Opportunity of declaring themſelves in his Favour. That beſides this, he was very well aſſured that *Moluc* was afflicted with a lingring Diſeaſe, which prey'd upon his Vitals; that *Hamet*, *Moluc*'s Brother, was not belov'd by the People; that therefore if Don *Sebaſtian* would but ſend him with a ſmall Army into *Africa*, ſo many of his Subjects would come over to him, that he did not in the leaſt queſtion but that he ſhould ſoon re-eſtabliſh himſelf in his Father's Dominions; which, if he did recover by theſe Means, the Kingdom ſhould become tributary to the Crown of *Portugal*: Nay, that he would much rather have Don *Sebaſtian* himſelf fill the Throne of *Morocco*, than ſee it in Poſſeſſion of the preſent Uſurper.

Don *Sebaſtian*, who was ever entertaining himſelf with the Ideas of future Conqueſts, thought this Opportunity of planting the Chriſtian Religion in *Morocco* was not to be neglected; and therefore promis'd the *Mooriſh* King not only his Aſſiſtance, but raſhly engaged himſelf in the Expedition, giving out that he intended to command the Army in Perſon. The wiſeſt of his Counſellors in vain endeavour'd to diſſuade him from the dangerous Deſign. His Zeal, his Courage,

an

an inconſiderate Raſhneſs, the common Fault of Youth, as well as ſome Flatterers, the Bane of Royalty, and Deſtruction of Princes, all prompted him to continue fixed in his Reſolution, and perſuaded him that he needed only appear in *Africa* to overcome, and that his Conqueſts would be both eaſy and glorious. To this end he embarked with an Army of thirteen thouſand Men, with which he was to drive a powerful Prince out of his own Dominions.

Moluc had timely Notice given him of the *Portugueſe* Expedition, and of their landing in *Africa*; he had put himſelf at the Head of forty thouſand Horſemen, all diſciplin'd Soldiers, and who were not ſo much to be dreaded for their Number and Courage, as they were for the Conduct of their General. His Infantry he did not at all value himſelf upon, not having above ten thouſand regular Men; there was indeed a vaſt Number of the Militia, and others of the People who came pouring down to his Aſſiſtance, but theſe he juſtly look'd upon as Men who were rather come to plunder than to fight, and who would at any time ſide with the Conqueror.

Several Skirmiſhes were fought, but *Moluc*'s Officers had private Orders ſtill to fly before the Foe, hoping thereby to make the *Portugueſe* leave the Shore, where they had intrench'd themſelves. This Stratagem had its deſir'd Effect; for Don *Sebaſtian* obſerving that the *Moors* ſtill fled before him, order'd his Army to leave their Intrenchments, and marched againſt the Foe as to a certain Victory. *Moluc* made his Army retire, as if he did not dare to fight a deciſive Battle; nay,

ſent Meſſengers to Don *Sebaſtian*, who pretended they were order'd to treat of Peace. The King of *Portugal* immediately concluded, that his Adverſary was doubtful of the Succeſs of the War, and that 'twould be an eaſier Matter to overcome *Moluc*'s Army, than to join them; he therefore indefatigably purſued them. But the *Moor* had no ſooner drawn him far enough from the Shore, and made it impoſſible for him to retire to his Fleet, but he halted, faced the *Portugueſe*, and put his Army in Battalia; the Horſe making a Half-Circle, with Intent, as ſoon as they engaged, to ſurround the Enemy on every Side. *Moluc* made *Hamet*, his Brother and Succeſſor, Commander in chief of the Cavalry; but as he doubted his Courage, he came up to him a little before the Engagement, told him that he muſt either conquer or die; and that ſhould he prove Coward enough to turn his Back upon the Foe, he would ſtrangle him with his own Hand.

The Reaſon why *Moluc* did not command the Army himſelf, was, that he was ſenſible of the Increaſe of his lingring Diſeaſe, and found that in all Probability this Day would be his laſt, and therefore reſolved to make it the moſt glorious of his Life. He put his Army, as I ſaid before, in Battalia himſelf, and gave all the neceſſary Orders with as much Preſence of Mind, as if he had enjoy'd the greateſt Health. He went farther than this; for foreſeeing what a ſudden Damp the News of his Death might caſt upon the Courage of his Soldiers, he order'd the Officers that were about him, that if during the Heat of the Battle he ſhould die, they ſhould carefully conceal it; and that even after his Death, his

Aides

Aides de Camp ſhould come up to his Litter, as if to receive freſh Orders. After this he was carried from Rank to Rank, where he exhorted his Soldiers to fight bravely for the Defence of their Religion and their Country.

But now the Combat began, and the great Artillery being diſcharged, the Armies join'd. The *Portugueſe* Infantry ſoon routed the *Mooriſh* Foot-Soldiers, who, as was before mention'd, were raw and undiſciplin'd; the Duke *d'Aviedo* engaged with a Party of Horſe ſo happily, that they gave Ground, and retir'd to the very Centre of the Army, where the King was. Enraged at ſo unexpected a Sight, notwithſtanding what his Officers could ſay or do, he threw himſelf out of his Litter; Sword in Hand he clear'd himſelf a Paſſage, rallied his flying Soldiers, and led them back himſelf to the Engagement. But this Action quite exhauſting his remaining Strength and Spirits, he fainted; his Officers put him into his Litter, where he juſt recover'd Strength enough to put his Finger upon his Mouth once more, to enjoin Secrecy, then died before they could convey him back to his Tent. His Commands were obey'd, and the News of his Death conceal'd.

Hitherto the Chriſtians ſeem'd to have the Advantage, but the *Mooriſh* Horſe advancing at laſt, hemm'd in *Sebaſtian*'s whole Army, and attack'd them on every Side. The Cavalry was drove back upon their Infantry, whom they trampled under Foot, and ſpread every where amongſt their own Soldiers, Diſorder, Fear, and Confuſion. The Infidels ſeiz'd upon this Advantage, and Sword in Hand fell upon the conquer'd Troops; a dread-

dreadful Slaughter enſu'd, ſome on their Knees begg'd for Quarter, others thought to ſave themſelves by Flight, but being ſurrounded by their Foes, met their Fate in another Place. The raſh Don *Sebaſtian* himſelf was ſlain, but whether he fell amidſt the Horror and Confuſion of the Battle, not being known by the *Moors*, or whether he was reſolv'd not to ſurvive the Loſs of ſo many of his Subjects, whom he had led on to a Field of Slaughter, is doubtful. *Muley Mahomet* got off, but paſſing the River *Mucazen*, was drown'd. Thus periſh'd, in one fatal Day, three Heroick Princes.

Aug. 4. 1578.

The Cardinal, Don *Henry*, great Uncle to Don *Sebaſtian*, ſucceeded him; he was Brother to *John* III. the late King's Grandfather, and Son to *Emanuel*. During his Reign, his pretended Heirs made all the Intereſt they could in the Court of *Portugal*, being well aſſur'd that the preſent King, who was weak and ſickly, and ſixty-ſeven Years old, could not be long liv'd; nor could he marry, and leave Children behind him, for he was a Cardinal, and in Prieſt's Orders. The Succeſſion was claim'd by *Philip* II. King of *Spain*; *Catharine* of *Portugal*, eſpous'd to Don *James*, Duke of *Braganza*; by the Duke of *Savoy*; the Duke of *Parma*; and by *Antonio*, Grand Prior of *Crete*: They all publiſh'd their reſpective Maniſeſto's, in which every one declar'd their Pretenſions to the Crown.

Philip was Son to the Infanta *Iſabella*, eldeſt Daughter of King *Emanuel*. The Dutcheſs of *Braganza* was Grandaughter to the ſame King *Emanuel*, by *Edward* his ſecond Son. The Duke of *Savoy*'s Mother was the Princeſs

ceſs *Beatrix*, a younger Siſter of the Empreſs *Iſabella*. The Duke of *Parma* was Son to *Mary* of *Portugal*, the ſecond Daughter of Prince *Edward*, and Siſter to the Dutcheſs of *Braganza*. Don *Lewis*, Duke of *Beja*, was ſecond Son to King *Emanuel* by *Violenta*, the fineſt Lady of that Age, whom he had debauch'd, but whom the Grand Prior pretended to have been privately married to that Prince. *Catharine de Medicis*, amongſt the reſt, made her Claim, as being deſcended from *Alphonſo* III. King of *Portugal*, and *Maud* Counteſs of *Bolonia*. The Pope too put in his Claim; he would have it, that after the Reign of the Cardinal, *Portugal* muſt be look'd upon as a fat Living in his Gift, and to which, like many a modern Patron, he would willingly have preſented himſelf.

But notwithſtanding all their Pretenſions, it plainly appear'd that the Succeſſion belong'd either to *Philip* King of *Spain*, or to the Dutcheſs of *Braganza*, a Lady of an extraordinary Merit, and belov'd by the whole Nation. The Duke, her Spouſe, was deſcended, tho' not in a direct Line, from the Royal Blood, and ſhe herſelf was ſprung from Prince *Edward*: Whereas the King of *Spain* was Son to *Edward*'s Siſter: Beſides, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, all Strangers were excluded the Succeſſion. This *Philip* own'd, ſince thereby the Pretenſions of *Savoy* and *Parma* vaniſh'd; but he would by no Means acknowledge himſelf a Stranger in *Portugal*, which he ſaid had often been Part of the Dominions of the King of *Caſtile*. Each had their ſeveral Parties at Court, and the Cardinal King was daily

preſs'd

preſs'd to decide the Difference, but always evaded it; he could not bear to hear of his Succeſſors, and would willingly have liv'd to have bury'd all his pretended Heirs: However, his Reign laſted but ſeventeen Months, and by his Death *Portugal* became the unhappy Theatre of Civil Wars.

1580. By his laſt Will he had order'd, that a Junćto, or Aſſembly of the States, ſhould be call'd, to ſettle the Succeſſion; but King *Philip* not caring to wait for their Deciſion, ſent a powerful Army into *Portugal*, commanded by the Duke of *Alba*, which ended the Diſpute, and put *Philip* in Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom.

We cannot find that the Duke of *Braganza* us'd any Endeavours to aſſert his Right by Force of Arms. The Grand Prior indeed did all he could to oppoſe the *Caſtilians*; the Mob had proclaim'd him King, and he took the Title upon him, as if it had been given by the States of *Portugal*; and his Friends rais'd ſome Forces for him, but they were ſoon cut in Pieces by the Duke of *Alba*, than whom *Spain* could not have choſen a better General. As much as the *Portugueſe* hate the *Caſtilians*, yet could they not keep them out, being diſunited among themſelves, and having no General, nor any Regular Troops on foot, Moſt of the Towns, for fear of being plunder'd, capitulated, and made each their ſeveral Treaty; ſo that in a ſhort time *Philip* was acknowledg'd their lawful Sovereign by
1581. the whole Nation, as being next Heir Male to his great Uncle, the late King: Of ſuch wondrous Uſe is open Force to ſupport a bad Cauſe!

After

After him reign'd his Son and Grandſon, *Philip* III. and IV. who us'd the *Portugueſe* not like Subjects, but like a conquer'd People; and the Kingdom of *Portugal* ſaw itſelf dwindle into a Province of *Spain*, and ſo weaken'd, that there was no Hope left of recovering their Liberty: Their Noblemen durſt not appear in an Equipage ſuitable to their Birth, for fear of making the *Spaniſh* Miniſters jealous of their Greatneſs or Riches; the Gentry were confin'd to their Country-Seats, and the People oppreſs'd with Taxes.

The Duke of *Olivarez*, who was then firſt Miniſter to *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*, was firmly perſuaded, that all Means were to be us'd to exhauſt this new Conqueſt; he was ſenſible of the natural Antipathy of the *Portugueſe* and *Caſtilians*, and thought that the former could never calmly behold their chief Poſts fill'd with Strangers, or at beſt with *Portugueſe* of a *Plebeian* Extraction, who had nothing elſe to recommend them but their Zeal for the Service of *Spain*. He thought therefore, that the ſureſt way of eſtabliſhing King *Philip*'s Power, was to remove the Nobility of *Portugal* from all Places of Truſt, and ſo to impoveriſh the People, that they ſhould never be capable of attempting to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* Yoke. Beſides this, he employ'd the *Portugueſe* Youth in foreign Wars, reſolving to drain the Kingdom of all thoſe who were capable of bearing Arms.

As politick as this Conduct of *Olivarez* might appear, yet did he miſs his Aim; for carrying his Cruelty to too high a Pitch, at a Time when the Court of *Spain* was in Diſtreſs,

and

and ſeeming rather to plunder an Enemy's Country, than levying Taxes from the *Portugueſe*, who daily ſaw their Miſeries increaſe, and be the Conſequence of their Attempt what it would, they could never fare worſe; unanimouſly reſolv'd to free themſelves from the intolerable Tyranny of *Spain*.

1640. *Margaret* of *Savoy*, Dutcheſs of *Mantua*, was then in *Portugal*, where ſhe had the Title of Vice-Queen, but was very far from having the Power. *Miguel Vaſconcellos*, a *Portugueſe* by Birth, but attach'd to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, had the Name of Secretary of State, but was indeed an abſolute and independent Miniſter, and diſpatch'd, without the Knowledge of the Vice-Queen, all the ſecret Buſineſs; his Orders he receiv'd directly from *d'Olivarez*, whoſe Creature he was, and who found him abſolutely neceſſary for extorting vaſt Sums of Money from the *Portugueſe*. He was ſo deeply learn'd in the Art of Intriguing, that he could perpetually make the Nobility jealous of one another, then would he foment their Diviſions, and increaſe their Animoſities, whereby the *Spaniſh* Government became every Day more abſolute; for the Duke was aſſur'd, that whilſt the Grandees were engag'd in private Quarrels, they would never think of the Common Cauſe.

The Duke of *Braganza* was the only Man in all *Portugal*, of whom the *Spaniards* were now jealous. His Humour was agreeable, and the chief Thing he conſulted was his Eaſe. He was a Man rather of ſound Senſe, than quick Wit. He could eaſily make himſelf

ſelf Maſter of any Buſineſs to which he apply'd his Mind, but then he never car'd much for the Trouble on't. Don *Theodoſius*, Duke of *Braganza*, his Father, was of a fiery and paſſionate Temper, and had taken Care to infuſe in his Son's Mind an Hereditary Averſion to the *Spaniards*, who had uſurp'd a Crown, that of Right belong'd to him; to ſwell his Mind with the Ambition of repoſſeſſing himſelf of a Throne, which his Anceſtors had been unjuſtly depriv'd of; and to fill his Soul with all the Courage that would be neceſſary for the carrying on of ſo great a Deſign.

Nor was this Prince's Care wholly loſt; Don *John* had imbib'd as much of the Sentiments of his Father as were conſiſtent with ſo mild and eaſy a Temper. He abhorr'd the *Spaniards*, yet was not at all uneaſy at his Incapacity of revenging himſelf. He entertain'd Hopes of aſcending the Throne of *Portugal*, yet did he not ſhew the leaſt Impatience, as Duke *Theodoſius*, his Father, had done, but contented himſelf with a diſtant Proſpect of a Crown; nor would for an Uncertainty venture the Quiet of his Life, and a Fortune which was already greater than what was well conſiſtent with the Condition of a Subject. Had he been preciſely what Duke *Theodoſius* wiſh'd him, he had never been fit for the great Deſign; for *d'Olivarez* had him obſerv'd ſo ſtrictly, that had his eaſy and pleaſant manner of Living proceeded from any other Cauſe but a natural Inclination, it had certainly been diſcover'd, and the Diſcovery had prov'd fatal both to his Life

Life and Fortune; at leaſt the Court of *Spain* would never have ſuffer'd him to live in ſo ſplendid a Manner in the very Heart of his Country.

Had he been the moſt refin'd Politician, he could never have liv'd in a Manner leſs capable of giving Suſpicion. His Birth, his Riches, his Title to the Crown, were not criminal in themſelves, but became ſo by the Law of Policy. This he was very ſenſible of, and therefore choſe this Way of Living, prompted to it as well by Nature as by Reaſon. It would have been a Crime to be formidable, he muſt therefore take Care not to appear ſo: At *Villa-Vicioſa*, the Seat of the Dukes of *Braganza*, nothing was thought of but Hunting-Matches, and other Rural Diverſions; the Brightneſs of his Parts could not in the leaſt make the *Spaniards* apprehend any bold Undertaking, but the Solidity of his Underſtanding made the *Portugueſe* promiſe themſelves the Enjoyment of a mild and eaſy King, provided they would undertake to raiſe him to the Throne. But an Accident ſoon after happen'd, which very much alarm'd *Olivarez*.

Some new Taxes being laid upon the People of *Evora*, which they were not able to pay, reduc'd them to Deſpair; upon which they roſe in a tumultuous Manner, loudly exclaiming againſt the *Spaniſh* Tyranny, and declaring themſelves in Favour of the Houſe of *Braganza*. Then, but too late, the Court of *Spain* began to be ſenſible of their Error, in leaving ſo rich and powerful a Prince in the Heart of a Kingdom ſo lately ſubdued, and

and to whoſe Crown he had ſuch Legal Pretenſions.

This made the Council of *Spain* immediately determine, that it was neceſſary to ſecure the Duke of *Braganza*, or at beſt not to let him make any longer Stay in *Portugal*. To this end they nam'd him Governor of *Milan*, which Government he refus'd, alledging the Weakneſs of his Conſtitution for an Excuſe: Beſides, he ſaid he was wholly unacquainted with the Affairs of *Italy*, and by conſequence not capable of acquitting himſelf in ſo weighty a Poſt.

The Duke *d'Olivarez* ſeem'd to approve of the Excuſe, and therefore began to think of ſome new Expedient to draw him to Court. The King's marching at the Head of his Army to the Frontiers of *Arragon*, to ſuppreſs the rebelling *Catalonians*, was a very good Pretence; he wrote to the Duke of *Braganza*, "to come at the Head of the *Portugueſe* Nobility to ſerve the King in an "Expedition, which could not but be glori-"ous, ſince his Majeſty commanded it in "Perſon." The Duke, who had no great Reliſh for any Favour conferr'd by the Court of *Spain*, excus'd himſelf, upon Pretence that "his Birth would oblige him to be at a much "greater Expence than what he was at pre-"ſent able to ſupport." 1640.

This ſecond Refuſal alarm'd *d'Olivarez*. Notwithſtanding Don *John*'s eaſy Temper, he began to be afraid that the *Evorians* had made an Impreſſion upon his Thoughts, by reminding him of his Right to the Throne.

It was dangerous to leave him any longer in his Country, and equally dangerous to hurry him out of it by Force; ſo great a Love had the *Portugueſe* ever bore to the Houſe of *Braganza*; ſo great a Reſpect did they bear to this Duke in particular. He muſt therefore treacherouſly be drawn into *Spain*, nor could any properer Means be thought of, for compaſſing this End, than by ſhewing him all the ſeeming Tokens of an unfeigned Friendſhip.

France and *Spain* were at that time engag'd in War, and the *French* Fleet had been ſeen off the Coaſts of *Portugal*. This gave the *Spaniſh* Miniſter a fair Opportunity of accompliſhing his Ends; for it was neceſſary to have an Army on Foot, under the Command of ſome brave General, to hinder the *French* from making a Deſcent, or landing any where in *Portugal*. The Commiſſion was ſent to the Duke of *Braganza*, with an abſolute Authority over all the Towns and Garriſons, as well as a Power over the Maritime Forces; in ſhort, ſo unlimited was the Command given him, that the Miniſter ſeem'd blindly to have deliver'd all *Portugal* into his Power: But this was only the better to colour his Deſign. Don *Lopez Ozorio*, the *Spaniſh* Admiral, had private Orders ſent him, that as ſoon as Don *John* ſhould viſit any of the Ports, he ſhould put in, as if drove by Streſs of Weather; then artfully invite the General aboard, immediately hoiſt Sail, and with all poſſible Expedition bring him into *Spain*. But propitious Fortune ſeem'd to have taken him into her Protection; a violent Storm aroſe, which diſpers'd the *Spaniſh* Fleet, Part of which

which ſuffer'd Shipwreck, and the reſt were ſo ſhatter'd, that they could not make *Portugal*.

This ill Succeſs did not in the leaſt diſrage *Olivarez*, or make him drop his Project; he attributed the Eſcape of the Duke of *Braganza* to meer Chance: He wrote him a Letter, full of Expreſſions of Friendſhip, and as if he had with him ſhar'd the Government of the whole Kingdom, wherein he deplor'd the Loſs of the Fleet, and told him, that the King now expected that he would carefully review all the Ports, and their reſpective Fortifications, ſeeing that the Fleet, which was to defend the Coaſts of *Portugal* from the Inſults of the *French*, had miſerably periſh'd. And that his Villany might not be ſuſpected, he return'd him Forty Thouſand Ducats to defray his Expences, and to raiſe more Troops, in caſe there ſhould be a Neceſſity of them. At the ſame time he ſent private Orders to all the Governors of Forts and Citadels, (the greateſt Part whereof were *Spaniards*,) that if they ſhould find a favourable Occaſion of ſecuring the Duke of *Braganza*, they ſhould do it, and forthwith convey him into *Spain*.

This entire Confidence which was repos'd in him, alarm'd the Duke; he plainly ſaw that there was Treachery intended, and therefore thought it juſt to return the Treachery. He wrote an Anſwer to *Olivarez*, wherein he told him, that with Joy he accepted the Honour which the King had conferr'd upon him, in naming him his General, and promis'd ſo to diſcharge the important

Truſt, as to deſerve the Continuation of his Majeſty's Favour.

But now the Duke began to have a nearer Proſpect of the Throne; nor did he neglect this Opportunity of putting ſome of his Friends into Places of Truſt, that they might be the more able to ſerve him upon Occaſion: He alſo employ'd Part of the *Spaniſh* Money in making New Creatures, and confirming thoſe in his Intereſt whom he had already made. And as he partly miſtruſted the *Spaniards* Deſign, he never viſited any Fort, but he was ſurrounded by ſuch a Number of Friends, that it was impoſſible for the Governors to execute their Orders.

Mean while the Court of *Spain* loudly murmur'd at the Truſt which was repos'd in Don *John*, they were ignorant of the Prime Miniſter's Aim, and therefore ſome did not ſtick to tell the King, that his near Alliance to the Houſe of *Braganza* made him overlook his Maſter's Intereſt; ſeeing that it was the higheſt Imprudence to put ſo abſolute an Authority into the Hands of one who had ſuch Pretenſions to the Crown, and to entruſt the Army to the Command of one, who in all Probability might make the Soldiers turn their Arms againſt their lawful Sovereign. But the more they complain'd, the better was the King pleas'd, being perſuaded that the Plot was artfully laid, ſince no one could unravel the dark Deſign. Thus *Braganza* not only had the Liberty, but was oblig'd to viſit all *Portugal*, and by that Means laid the Foundation of his future Fortune. The Eyes of the Many were every where drawn by

by his magnificent Equipage, all that came to him, he mildly, and with unequal'd Goodneſs heard; the Soldiers were not ſuffer'd to commit the leaſt Diſorders, and he laid hold of all Opportunities of praiſing the Conduct of the Officers, and by frequent Recompences beſtow'd upon them, won their Hearts. The Nobility were charm'd with his free Deportment, he receiv'd every one of them in the moſt obliging manner, and paid each the Reſpect due to his Quality. In ſhort, ſuch was his Carriage, that the People began to think there could be no greater Happineſs for them upon Earth, than the Reſtoration of the Prince to the Throne of his Anceſtors.

Mean while his Party omitted nothing that they thought might contribute to the eſtabliſhing of his Reputation. Amongſt others, *Pinto Ribeiro*, Comptroller of his Houſhold, particularly diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, and was the firſt who form'd an exact Scheme for the Advancement of his Maſter. There was no Man more experienc'd in Buſineſs, who at the ſame time was ſo careful, diligent, and watchful: He was firm to the Intereſt of the Duke, not doubting but that if he could raiſe him to the Throne, he ſhould raiſe himſelf to ſome conſiderable Poſt. His Maſter had often privately aſſur'd him, that he would willingly lay hold of any fair Opportunity for his Reſtoration, yet would not raſhly declare himſelf, as a Man who had nothing to loſe; that notwithſtanding he might endeavour to gain the Minds of the People, and to make new Creatures, yet he muſt do it

with that Caution, that it might appear his own Work, and done without the Conſent and Knowledge of the Duke.

Pinto had ſpar'd no Pains in diſcovering who were, and the Number of the Diſaffected, which he daily endeavour'd to increaſe; he rail'd againſt the preſent Government ſometimes with Heat, at other times with Caution, always accommodating himſelf to the Humour of the Company which he was in: Tho' indeed ſo great was the Hatred which the *Portugueſe* bore the *Spaniards*, that there was no Need of Reſerve in complaining of them. He would often remind the Nobility what honourable Employments their Forefathers had borne, when *Portugal* was govern'd by its own Kings. Then would he mention the Summons which had ſo much exaſperated the Nobility, and by which they were commanded to attend the King in *Catalonia*. *Pinto* us'd to complain of this Hardſhip as of a kind of Baniſhment, from which they would ſcarce find it poſſible to return; that the Pride of the *Spaniards*, who would command them, was inſufferable, and the Expence they ſhould be at intolerable; that this was only a plauſible Pretence to drain *Portugal* of its braveſt Men, that in all their Expeditions they might be aſſur'd of being expos'd where the greateſt Danger was, but that they muſt never hope to ſhare the leaſt Part of the Glory.

When he was amongſt the Merchants and other Citizens, he would bewail the Miſery of his Country, which was ruin'd by the Injuſtice of the *Spaniard*, who had transfer'd the

the Trade, which *Portugal* carried on with the *Indies*, to *Cadiz*. Then would he remind them of the Felicity which the *Dutch* and *Catalonians* enjoy'd, who had ſhaken off the *Spaniſh* Yoke. As for the Clergy, he did not in the leaſt queſtion but that he ſhould engage them in his Intereſt, and exaſperate them moſt irreconcileably againſt the *Caſtilians*; he told them, that the Immunities and Privileges of the Church were violated, their Orders contemn'd and neglected, and that all the beſt Preferments and fatteſt Livings, were poſſeſs'd by foreign Incumbents.

When he was with thoſe, of whoſe Diſaffection he was already convinc'd, he would take Care to turn his Diſcourſe to his Maſter, and talk of his Manner of Living. He would often complain, that *That* Prince ſhew'd too little Affection for the Good of his Country, and Concern for his own Intereſt; and that at a Time when it was in his Power to aſſert his Title to the Crown, he ſhould ſeem ſo regardleſs of his own Right, and lead ſo idle a Life. Finding that theſe Inſinuations made an Impreſſion upon the People, he went ſtill farther: To thoſe who were publick-ſpirited, he repreſented what a glorious Thing it would be for them to lay the Foundations of a Revolution, and to deſerve the Name of *Deliverers of their Country*. Thoſe who had been injur'd and ill-treated by the *Spaniards*, he would excite to the Deſire of Revenge; and the Ambitious he flatter'd with a Proſpect of the Grandeurs and Preferments they might expect from the new King, would they once raiſe him to the

Throne. In ſhort, he manag'd every thing with ſo much Art, that being privately aſſur'd of the unſhaken Affection of many to his Maſter, he procur'd a Meeting of a conſiderable Number of the Nobility, with the Archbiſhop of *Liſbon* at the Head of them.

This Prelate was of the Houſe of *Acugna*, one of the beſt Families of all *Portugal*; he was a Man of Learning, and an excellent Politician, belov'd by the People, but hated by the *Spaniards*, and whom he had alſo juſt Cauſe to hate, ſince they had made Don *Sebaſtian Maltos de Norognia*, Archbiſhop of *Braga*, Preſident of the Chamber of *Opaco*, whom they had all along preferr'd to him; and to whom they had given a great Share in the Adminiſtration of Affairs.

Another of the moſt conſiderable Members of this Aſſembly, was Don *Miguel d'Almeida*, a venerable old Man, and who deſerv'd, and had the Eſteem of every Body; he was very publick-ſpirited, and was not ſo much griev'd at his own private Misfortunes, as at thoſe of his Country, whoſe Inhabitants were become the Slaves of an uſurping Tyrant. In theſe Sentiments he had been educated, and to theſe with undaunted Courage and Reſolution he ſtill adher'd; nor could the Intreaties of his Relations, nor the repeated Advices of his Friends, ever make him go to Court, or cringe to the *Spaniſh* Miniſters. This Carriage of his had made them jealous of him. This therefore was the Man whom *Pinto* firſt caſt his Eyes upon, being well aſſur'd that he might ſafely entruſt him with the Secret; beſides which, no one could be more

more uſeful in carrying on their Deſign, his Intereſt with the Nobility being ſo great, that he could eaſily bring over a conſiderable Number of them to his Party.

There were, beſides theſe two, at this firſt Meeting, Don *Antonio d'Almada*, an intimate Friend of the Archbiſhop's, with Don *Lewis*, his Son; Don *Lewis d'Acugna*, Nephew to that Prelate, and who had married Don *Antonio d'Almada*'s Daughter; *Mello* Lord *Ranger*, Don *George* his Brother; *Pedro Mendoza*; Don *Rodrigo de Saa*, Lord-Chamberlain; with ſeveral other Officers of the Houſhold, whoſe Places were nothing now but empty Titles, ſince *Portugal* had loſt her own natural Kings.

The Archbiſhop, who was naturally a good Rhetorician, broke the Ice in this Aſſembly; he made an eloquent Speech, in which he ſet forth the many Grievances *Portugal* had labour'd under ſince it had been ſubject to the Domination of *Spain*. He reminded them of the Number of Nobility which *Philip* II. had butcher'd to ſecure his Conqueſt; nor had he been more favourable to the Church, witneſs the famous Brief of Abſolution, which he had obtain'd from the Pope for the Murder of Two Thouſand Prieſts, or others of Religious Orders, whom he had barbarouſly put to Death, on no other Account but to ſecure his Uſurpation: And ſince that unhappy Time, the *Spaniards* had not chang'd their inhuman Policy; how many had fallen for no other Crime but their unſhaken Love to their Country! That none of thoſe who were there preſent, could call their Lives *Conneſtagio.*

or

or their Eſtates their own: That the Nobility were ſlighted and remov'd from all Places of Truſt, Profit, or Power: That the Church was fill'd with a ſcandalous Clergy, ſince *Vaſconcellos* had diſpos'd of all the Livings, and to which he had preferr'd his own Creatures only: That the People were oppreſs'd with exceſſive Taxes, whilſt the Earth remain'd untill'd for want of Hands, their Labourers being all ſent away by Force, for Soldiers to *Catalonia*: That this laſt Summons for the Nobility to attend the King, was only a ſpecious Pretence to force them out of their own Country, leſt their Preſence might prove an Obſtacle to ſome cruel Deſign, which was doubtleſs on Foot: That the mildeſt Fate they could hope for, was a tedious, if not a perpetual Baniſhment; and that whilſt they were ill-treated by the *Caſtilians* abroad, Strangers ſhould enjoy their Eſtates, and new Colonies take Poſſeſſion of their Habitations. He concluded by aſſuring them, that ſo great were the Miſeries of his Country, that he would rather chuſe to die ten thouſand Deaths, than be obliged to ſee the Encreaſe of them; nor would he now entertain one Thought of Life, did he not hope that ſo many Perſons of Quality were not met together in vain.

This Diſcourſe had its deſir'd Effect, by reminding every one of the many Evils which they had ſuffer'd. Each ſeem'd earneſt to give ſome Inſtance of *Vaſconcellos*'s Cruelty. The Eſtates of ſome had been unjuſtly confiſcated, whilſt others had Hereditary Places and Governments taken from them; ſome

ſome had been long confin'd in Priſons thro' the Jealouſy of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and many bewail'd a Father, a Brother, or a Friend, either detain'd at *Madrid*, or ſent into *Catalonia* as Hoſtages of the Fidelity of their unhappy Countrymen. In ſhort, there was not one of thoſe who were engag'd in this Publick Cauſe, but what had ſome private Quarrel to revenge: But nothing provoked them more than the *Catalonian* Expedition; they plainly ſaw, that it was not ſo much the want of their Aſſiſtance, as the Deſire of ruining them, which made the *Spaniſh* Miniſter oblige them to that tedious and expenſive Voyage. Theſe Conſiderations, join'd to their own private Animoſities, made them unanimouſly reſolve to venture Life and Fortune, rather than any longer to bear the heavy Yoke: But the Form of Government which they ought to chuſe, caus'd a Diviſion amongſt them. Part of the Aſſembly were for making themſelves a Republick, as *Holland* had lately done; others were for a Monarchy, but could not agree upon the Choice of a King: Some propos'd the Duke of *Braganza*, ſome the Marquis de *Villareal*, and others the Duke *d'Aviedo*, (all Three Princes of the Royal Blood of *Portugal*,) according as their different Inclinations, or Intereſts byaſs'd them. But the Archbiſhop, who was wholly devoted to the Houſe of *Braganza*, aſſuming the Authority of his Character, ſet forth with great Strength of Reaſon, That the Choice of a Government was not in their Power; that the Oath of Allegiance which they had taken to the King

of

of *Spain*, could not in Conſcience be broken, unleſs it was with a Deſign to reſtore their rightful Sovereign to the Throne of his Fathers, which every one knew to be the Duke of *Braganza*; that they muſt therefore reſolve to proclaim him King, or for ever to continue under the Tyranny of the *Spaniſh* Uſurper. After this, he made them conſider the Power and Riches of this Prince, as well as the great Number of his Vaſſals, and whoſe Eſtates, which they held of him, comprehended almoſt a third Part of the Kingdom. He ſhew'd them it was impoſſible for them to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Portugal*, unleſs he was at their Head: That the only Way to engage him, would be by making him an Offer of the Crown, which they would be under a Neceſſity of doing, altho' he was not the firſt Prince of the Royal Blood. Then began he to reckon all thoſe excellent Qualities with which he was endow'd, as his Wiſdom, his Prudence; but above all, his affable Behaviour, and inimitable Goodneſs. In ſhort, his Words prevail'd ſo well upon every one, that they unanimouſly declar'd him their King, and promis'd that they wou'd ſpare no Pains, no Endeavours, to engage him to enter into their Meaſures: After which, having agreed upon the Time and Place of a ſecond Meeting, to concert the Ways and Means of bringing this happy Revolution about, the Aſſembly broke up.

Pinto obſerving how well the Minds of the People were diſpos'd in Favour of his Maſter, wrote privately to him, to acquaint him with the Succeſs of the firſt Meeting, and adviſ'd him

him to come, as if by Chance, to *Liſbon*, that by his Preſence he might encourage the Conſpirators, and at the ſame Time get ſome Opportunity of conferring with them. This Man ſpent his whole Time in negotiating this grand Affair, yet did it ſo artfully, that no one could ſuſpect his having any farther Intereſt in it, than his Concern for the Publick Welfare. He ſeemingly doubted whether his Maſter would ever enter into their Meaſures, objecting his natural Averſion to any Undertaking which was hazardous, and requir'd Application: Then would he ſtart ſome Difficulties, which were of no other Uſe but to deſtroy all Suſpicion of his having any Underſtanding with his Maſter, and were ſo far from being weighty enough to diſcourage them, that they rather ſerv'd to excite their Ardour.

Upon the Advice given by *Pinto*, the Duke left *Villaviciosa*, and came to *Almada*, a Caſtle near *Liſbon*, on Pretence of viſiting it as he had done the other Fortifications of that Kingdom. His Equipage was ſo magnificent, and he had with him ſuch a Number of the Nobility and Gentry, as well as of Officers, that he look'd more like a King going to take Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom, than like the Governor of a Province, who was viewing the Places and Forts under his Juriſdiction: He was ſo near *Liſbon*, that he was under an Obligation of going to pay his Devoirs to the Vice-Queen. As ſoon as he enter'd the Palace-Yard, he found the Avenues crowded with infinite Numbers of People, who preſs'd forward to ſee him paſs along; and all the Nobility came to wait upon him, and to accom-

accompany him to the Vice-Queen's. It was a general Holiday throughout the City, and ſo great was the Joy of the People, that there ſeem'd only a Herald wanting to proclaim him King, or Reſolution enough in himſelf to put the Crown upon his Head.

But the Duke was too prudent to truſt to the uncertain Sallies of an inconſtant People. He knew what a vaſt Difference there was between their vain Shouts, and that Steddineſs which is neceſſary to ſupport ſo great an Enterprize. Therefore after having paid his Reſpects to the Vice-Queen, and taken Leave of her, he return'd to *Almada*, without ſo much as going to *Braganza-Houſe*, or paſſing through the City, leſt he ſhould increaſe the Jealouſy of the *Spaniards*, who already ſeem'd very uneaſy at the Affection which the People had ſo unanimouſly expreſs'd for the Duke.

Pinto took Care to make his Friends obſerve the unneceſſary Caution which his Maſter us'd, and that therefore they ought not to neglect this Opportunity, which his Stay at *Almada* afforded them, to wait upon that Prince, and to perſuade, nay, as tho' it were to force him to accept the Crown. The Conſpirators thought the Counſel good, and deputed him to the Duke to obtain an Audience. He granted them one, but upon Condition there ſhould come three of the Conſpirators only, not thinking it ſafe to explain himſelf before a greater Number.

Miguel d'Almeida, *Antonio d'Almada*, and *Pedro Mendoza*, were the three Perſons pitch'd upon, who coming by Night to the Prince's, and

and being introduc'd into his Chamber, *d'Almada*, who was their Spokeſman, repreſented in few Words the preſent unhappy State of *Portugal*, whoſe Natives, of what Quality or Condition ſoever, had ſuffer'd ſo much from the unjuſt and cruel *Caſtilians*: That the Duke himſelf was as much, if not more expos'd than any other to their Treachery; that he was too diſcerning not to perceive that *d'Olivarez*'s Aim was his Ruin, and that there was no other Place of Refuge but the Throne; for the reſtoring him to which, he had Orders to offer him the Services of a conſiderable Number of People of the firſt Quality, who would willingly expoſe their Lives, and ſacrifice their Fortunes for his Sake, and to revenge themſelves upon the oppreſſing *Spaniards*.

He afterwards told them, that the Times of *Charles* V. and *Philip* II. were no more, when *Spain* held the Balance of *Europe* in her Hand, and gave the neighbouring Nations Laws: That this Monarchy, which had been once ſo formidable, could ſcarce now preſerve its ancient Territories; that the *French* and *Dutch* not only wag'd War againſt them, but often overcame them; that *Catalonia* itſelf employ'd the greateſt Part of their Forces; that they ſcarce had an Army on Foot, the Treaſury was exhauſted, and that the Kingdom was govern'd by a weak Prince, who was himſelf ſway'd by a Miniſter, abhor'd by the whole Nation.

He then obſerv'd what foreign Protection and Alliances they might depend on, and be aſſur'd of; moſt of the Princes of *Europe* were

were profeſs'd Enemies to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; the Encouragement *Holland* and *Catalonia* had met with, ſufficiently ſhew'd what might be expected from that able * Stateſman, whoſe mighty Genius ſeem'd wholly bent upon the Deſtruction of the *Spaniſh* King; that the Sea was now open, and he might have free Communication with whom he pleas'd; that there were ſcarce any *Spaniſh* Garriſons left in *Portugal*, they having been drawn out to ſerve in *Catalonia*; that there could never be a more favourable Opportunity of aſſerting his Right and Title to the Crown, of ſecuring his Life, his Fortune, and his Liberty, which were at Stake, and of delivering his Country from Slavery and Oppreſſion.

* *Cardinal* Richlieu.

We may eaſily imagine, that there was nothing in this Speech which could diſpleaſe the Duke of *Braganza*; however, unwilling to let them ſee his Heart, he anſwer'd the Deputies in ſuch a Manner, as could neither leſſen, or increaſe their Hopes. He told them, that he was but too ſenſible of the Miſeries to which *Portugal* was reduc'd by the *Caſtilians*, nor could he think himſelf ſecure from their Treachery; that he very much commended the Zeal which they ſhew'd for the Welfare of their Country, and was in an eſpecial Manner oblig'd to them for the Affection which they bore him in particular; that notwithſtanding what they had repreſented, he fear'd that Matters were not ripe for ſo dangerous an Enterprize, whoſe Conſequence, ſhould they not bring it to a happy Period, would prove ſo fatal to them all.

Having

Having return'd this Anſwer, (for a more poſitive one he would not return) he careſs'd the Deputies, and thank'd them in ſo obliging a manner, that they left him, well ſatisfy'd that their Meſſage was gratefully receiv'd; but at the ſame time perſuaded, that the Prince would be no farther concern'd in their Deſign, than giving his Conſent to the Execution of it, as ſoon as their Plot ſhould be ripe.

After their Departure, the Duke conferr'd with *Pinto* about the new Meaſures which they muſt take, and then return'd to *Villa-vicioſa*; but not with that inward Satisfaction of Mind which he had hitherto enjoy'd, but with a Reſtleſsneſs of Thought, the too common Companion of Princes.

As ſoon as he arriv'd, he communicated thoſe Propoſitions which had been made him, to the Dutcheſs his Wife. She was of a *Caſtilian* Family, Siſter to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, a Grandee of *Spain*, and Governor of *Andaluſia*. During her Childhood, her Mind was great and heroick, and as ſhe grew up, became paſſionately fond of Honour and Glory. The Duke, her Father, who perceiv'd this natural Inclination of hers, took Care to cultivate it betimes, and gave the Care of her Education to Perſons who would ſwell her Breaſt with * Ambition, and

D repreſent

* Ad hæc politicas Artes, bonos & malos Regiminis Dolos, Dominationis Arcana, humani Latibula, ingenii, non modo intelligere Mulier, ſed & pertractare quoque ac provehere, tam Naturâ quam Diſciplinâ mirificè inſtructa fuit. *Caetan. Puſſar. de Bello Luſitan.*

repreſent it as the chiefeſt Virtue of Princes. She apply'd herſelf betimes to the Study of the different Tempers and Inclinations of Mankind, and would by the Looks of a Perſon judge of his Heart; ſo that the moſt diſſembling Courtier could ſcarce hide his Thoughts from her diſcerning Eye. She neither wanted Courage to undertake, nor Conduct to carry on the moſt difficult Things, provided their End was glorious and honourable. Her Actions were free and eaſy, and at the ſame time noble and majeſtick; her Air at once inſpir'd Love, and commanded Reſpect. She took the *Portugueſe* Air with ſo much Eaſe, that it ſeem'd natural to her. She made it her chief Study to deſerve the Love and Eſteem of her Huſband; nor could the Auſterity of her Life, a ſolid Devotion, and a perfect Complaiſance to all his Actions, fail of doing it. She neglected all thoſe Pleaſures, which Perſons of her Age and Quality uſually reliſh; and the greateſt Part of her Time was employ'd in Studies, which might adorn her Mind, and improve her Underſtanding.

The Duke thought himſelf compleatly happy in the Poſſeſſion of ſo accompliſh'd a Lady; his Love could ſcarce be parallel'd, and his Confidence in her was entire: He never undertook any thing without her Advice, nor would he engage himſelf any farther in a Matter of ſuch Conſequence, without firſt conſulting with her. He therefore ſhew'd her the Scheme of the Revolution, the Names of the Conſpirators, and acquainted her with what had paſs'd as well in the Aſſembly

Aſſembly held at *Liſbon*; as in the Conference he had had with them at *Almada*, and the Warmth which every one had ſhown upon this Occaſion. He told her, That the Expedition of *Catalonia* had ſo incens'd the Nobility, that they were all reſolv'd to revolt, rather than to leave their native Country; he dreaded, that if he ſhould refuſe to lead them on, they would forſake him, and chuſe themſelves another Leader. Yet he confeſs'd, that the Greatneſs of the Danger made him dread the Event; that whilſt he view'd the Throne at a Diſtance, the flattering Idea of Royalty was moſt agreeable to his Mind, but that now having a nearer Proſpect of it, and of the intervening Obſtacles, he was ſtartled; nor could he calmly behold thoſe Dangers into which he muſt inevitably plunge himſelf and his whole Family, in Caſe of a Diſcovery: That the People, on whom they muſt chiefly depend for the Succeſs, were inconſtant, and diſheartned by the leaſt Difficulty: That the Number of the Nobility and Gentry which he had on his Side, was not ſufficient, unleſs ſupported by the Grandees of the Kingdom; who doubtleſs, jealous of his Fortune, would oppoſe it, as not being able to ſubmit to the Government of one, whom they had all along look'd upon as their Equal. That theſe Conſiderations, as well as the little Dependance he could make on foreign Aſſiſtance, overrul'd his Ambition, and made him forget the Hopes of reigning. But the Dutcheſs, whoſe Soul was truly great, and Ambition her ruling Paſſion, immediately declar'd her-

ſelf in Favour of the Conſpiracy. She aſk'd the Duke, " Whether in Caſe the *Portugueſe*, " accepting his Denial, ſhould reſolve to " make themſelves a Republick, he would ſide " with them, or with the King of *Spain?* " " With his Countrymen undoubtedly, *he re-* " *ply'd*; for whoſe Liberty he would willing- " ly venture his Life." " And why can you " not do for your own Sake, *anſwer'd ſhe*, " what you would do as a Member of the " Commonwealth? The Throne belongs to " you, and ſhould you periſh in attempting " to recover it, your Fate would be glorious, " and rather to be envy'd than pity'd." After this, ſhe urg'd " his undoubted Right to " the Crown; that *Portugal* was reduc'd to " ſuch a miſerable State by the *Caſtilians*, " that it was inconſiſtent with the Honour " of a Perſon of his Quality, to be an idle " Looker-on; that his Children would re- " proach, and their Poſterity curſe his Me- " mory, for neglecting ſo fair an Opportu- " nity of reſtoring them what they ought in " Juſtice to have had." Then ſhe repreſented the Difference between a Sovereign and a Subject, and the Pleaſure of ruling, inſtead of obeying in a ſervile Manner. She made him ſenſible, that it would be no ſuch difficult Matter to re-poſſeſs himſelf of the Crown; that though he could not hope for foreign Aſſiſtance, yet were the *Portugueſe* of themſelves able to drive the *Spaniards* out of their Country, eſpecially at ſuch a favourable Juncture as this. In ſhort, ſo great was her perſuaſive Art, that ſhe prevail'd upon the Duke to accept the Offer made him, but

at

at the ſame Time confeſs'd his Prudence, in letting the Number of the Conſpirators increaſe before he join'd with them; nor would ſhe adviſe him to appear openly in it, 'till the Plot was ripe.

Mean while the Court of *Spain* grew very jealous of him. Thoſe extraordinary Marks of Joy, which the *Liſbonites* had ſhewn at his coming thither, had very much alarm'd *d'Olivarez*. It was alſo whiſper'd about, that there were nightly Meetings, and ſecret Aſſemblies held at *Liſbon*: So impoſſible it is, that a Buſineſs of ſuch Conſequence ſhould be wholly conceal'd.

Upon this ſeveral Councils were held at *Madrid*, in which it was reſolv'd, that the only Way to prevent the *Portugueſe* from revolting, was by taking from them their Leader, in Favour of whom it was ſuppos'd they intended to revolt. Wherefore *d'Olivarez* immediately diſpatch'd a Courier to the Duke of *Braganza*, to acquaint him, that the King deſir'd to be inform'd, by his own Mouth, of the Strength of every Fort and Citadel, the Condition of the Sea-Ports, and what Garriſons were plac'd in each of them: To this he added, that his Friends at Court were overjoy'd at the Thoughts of ſeeing him ſo ſoon, and that every one of them were preparing to receive him with the Reſpect due to his Quality and Deſerts. *Oct.* 20, 1640.

This News thunder-ſtruck the unhappy Prince; he was well aſſur'd, that ſince ſo many Pretences were made uſe of to get him into *Spain*, his Deſtruction was reſolv'd on, and nothing leſs than his Life could ſatisfy

them. They had left off Careſſes and Invitations, and had now ſent poſitive Orders, which either muſt be obey'd, or probably open Force would be made uſe of. He concluded, that he was betray'd. Such is the Fear of thoſe, whoſe Thoughts are taken up with great Deſigns, and who always imagine that the inquiſitive World is prying into their Actions, and obſerving all their Steps. Thus did the Duke, whoſe Conduct had been always greater than his Courage, dread that he had plung'd himſelf into inevitable Deſtruction.

But to gain Time enough to give the Conſpirators Notice of his Danger, by the Advice of the Dutcheſs, he ſent a Gentleman, whoſe Capacity and Fidelity he was before aſſur'd of, to the Court of *Madrid*, to aſſure the *Spaniſh* Miniſter, that he would ſuddenly wait on the King; but had at the ſame Time given him private Orders to find out all the Pretences imaginable for the delaying his Journey, hoping in the mean time to bring the Conſpiracy to Ripeneſs, and thereby to ſhelter himſelf from the impending Storm.

As ſoon as this Gentleman arriv'd at *Madrid*, he aſſur'd the King and the Duke *d'Olivarez*, that his Maſter follow'd him. To make his Story the more plauſible, he took a large Houſe, which he furniſh'd very ſumptuouſly, then hir'd a conſiderable Number of Servants, to whom he before-hand gave Liveries. In ſhort, he ſpar'd no Coſt to perſuade the *Spaniards* that his Maſter would be in a very little time at Court, and that he intended

tended to appear with an Equipage ſuitable to his Birth.

Some Days after, he pretended to have receiv'd Advice that his Maſter was fallen ſick. When this Pretence was grown ſtale, he preſented a Memorial to *d'Olivarez*, in which he deſir'd that his Maſter's Precedence in the Court might be adjuſted. He did not in the leaſt queſtion but that this would gain a conſiderable Time, hoping that the Grandees, by maintaining their Rights, would oppoſe his Claims. But theſe Delays beginning to be ſuſpected, the firſt Miniſter had the Thing ſoon decided, and always in Favour of the Duke of *Braganza*; ſo earneſtly did he deſire to ſee him once out of *Portugal*, and to have him ſafe at *Madrid*.

The Conſpirators no ſooner heard of the Orders which the Duke had receiv'd, but fearing that he might obey them, deputed *Mendoza* to know what he intended to do, and to engage him firmly, if poſſible, to their Party. This Gentleman was choſen preferably to any other, becauſe he was Governor of a Town near *Villaviciosa*; ſo that he could hide the real Intent of his Journey from the *Spaniards*, under the ſpecious Pretence of Buſineſs. He did not dare to go directly to the Prince's Houſe, but took an Opportunity of meeting him in a Foreſt one Morning as he was hunting; they retir'd together into the thickeſt Part of the Wood, where *Mendoza* ſhew'd him what Danger he expos'd himſelf to, by going to a Place where all were his Enemies: That by this inconſiderate Action, the Hopes of the Nobi-

lity, as well as of the People, were utterly deſtroy'd: That a ſufficient Number of Gentlemen, who were as able to ſerve him, as they were willing to do it, or to ſacrifice their Lives for his Sake, only waited for his Conſent to declare themſelves in his Favour: That now was the very Criſis of his Fate, and that he muſt this Inſtant reſolve to be *Cæſar* or nothing: That the Buſineſs would admit of no longer Delay, leſt the Secret being divulg'd, their Deſigns ſhould prove abortive. The Duke, convinc'd of the Truth of what was ſaid to him, told him that he was of his Mind, and that he might aſſure his Friends, that as ſoon as their Plot ſhould be ripe, he would put himſelf at the Head of them.

This Conference ended, *Mendoza* immediately return'd Home, for fear of being ſuſpected, and wrote to ſome of the Conſpirators that he had been hunting: "We had "almoſt, *continued he*, loſt our Game in the "Purſuit, but at laſt the Day prov'd a Day "of good Sport." Some few Days after *Mendoza* return'd to *Liſbon*, and acquainted *Pinto* that his Maſter wanted him, who ſet out as ſoon as they had together drawn out a ſhorter Scheme to proceed upon. Coming to *Villa-vicioſa*, the firſt thing he acquainted the Duke with, was the Difference which had lately happen'd at the Court of *Liſbon*, the Vice Queen loudly complaining of the haughty Pride and Inſolence of *Vaſconcellos*; nor could ſhe any longer bear that all Buſineſs ſhould be tranſacted by him, whilſt ſhe enjoy'd an empty Title, without any the leaſt Authority.

What

What made her Complaints the juſter, was, that ſhe was really a deſerving Princeſs, and capable of diſcharging the Truſt which was committed to her Secretary. But it was the Greatneſs of her Genius, and her other extraordinary Deſerts, which made the Court of *Spain* unwilling to let her have a greater Share in the Government. *Pinto* obſerv'd, that this Difference could never have happen'd in a better Time, ſeeing that the Miniſters of *Spain* being taken up with this Buſineſs, would not be at Leiſure to pry into his Actions, or to obſerve the Steps he ſhould take.

The Duke of *Braganza*, ſince *Mendoza*'s Departure, was fallen into his wonted Irreſolution, and the nearer the Buſineſs came to a Criſis, the more he dreaded the Event: *Pinto* made uſe of all his Rhetorick to excite his Maſter's Courage, and to draw him into his former Reſolution. Nay, to his Perſuaſions he added Threatnings; he told him, in ſpite of himſelf, the Conſpirators would proclaim him King, and what Dangers muſt he run then, when the Crown ſhould be fix'd upon his Head; at a Time when, only for want of neceſſary Preparation, he was not capable of preſerving it. The Dutcheſs join'd with this faithful Servant, and convinc'd the Duke of the Baſeneſs of preferring Life to Honour: He, charm'd with her Courage, yet aſham'd to ſee it greater than his own, yielded to their Perſuaſions.

Mean while, the Gentleman whom he had ſent to *Madrid*, wrote daily to let him know, that he could no longer defer his Journey on any

any Pretence whatſoever, and that *Olivarez* refus'd to hear the Excuſes which he would have made. The Duke, to gain a little longer Time, order'd the Gentleman to acquaint the *Spaniſh* Miniſter, that he had long ſince been at *Madrid*, had he had Money enough to defray the Expence of his Journey, and to appear at Court in a manner ſuitable to his Quality: That as ſoon as he could receive a ſufficient Sum, he would immediately ſet out.

This Buſineſs diſpatch'd, he conſulted with the Dutcheſs and *Pinto* about the propereſt Means of executing their Deſign: Several were propos'd, but at laſt this was agreed upon, That the Plot muſt break out at *Liſbon*, whoſe Example might have a good Effect upon the other Towns and Cities of the Kingdom: That the ſame Day wherein he was proclaim'd King in the Metropolis, he ſhould be alſo proclaim'd in every Place which was under his Dependance; nay, in every Borough and Village, of which any of the Conſpirators were the leading Men, they ſhould raiſe the People, ſo that one Half of the Kingdom being up, the other of courſe would fall into their Meaſures, and the few remaining *Spaniards* would not know on which Side to turn their Arms. His own Regiment he ſhould quarter in *Elvas*, whoſe Governor was wholly in his Intereſt. That as for the manner of their making themſelves Maſters of *Liſbon*, Time and Opportunity would be their beſt Counſellors; however, the Duke's Opinion was, that they ſhould ſeize the Palace in the firſt Place, ſo that by ſecuring the Vice-Queen,

and

and the *Spaniards* of Note, they would be like ſo many Hoſtages in their Hands, for the Behaviour of the Governor and Garriſon of the Citadel, who otherwiſe might very much annoy them; when they were Maſters of the Town. After this, the Duke having aſſur'd *Pinto*, that notwithſtanding any Change of Fortune, he ſhould ſtill have the ſame Place in his Affection; he ſent him to *Liſbon* with two Letters of Truſt, one for *Almeida*, the other for *Mendoza*; wherein he conjur'd them to continue faithful to their Promiſes, and reſolutely and courageouſly to finiſh what they had begun.

As ſoon as he arriv'd at *Liſbon*, he deliver'd his Letters to *Almeida* and *Mendoza*, who inſtantly ſent for *Lemos* and *Coreo*, whom *Pinto* had long ſince engag'd in the Intereſt of his Maſter. Theſe were two rich Citizens, who had gone through all the Offices of the City, and had the People of it very much at their Command; as they ſtill carry'd on their Trade, there were a vaſt Number of poor People daily employ'd by them, and whoſe Hatred to the *Spaniards* they had ſtill taken care to increaſe, by inſinuating that there were new Taxes to be laid upon ſeveral Things at the Beginning of the next Year. When they obſerv'd any one of a fiery Temper, they would take care to diſcharge him, on Pretence that the *Caſtilians* had utterly ruin'd their Trade, and that they were no longer able to employ them; but their Aim was to reduce them to Poverty and Want, inſomuch that Neceſſity ſhould oblige them to revolt: But ſtill would they extend their Charity

Charity towards them, that they might always have them at their Service. Beſides this, they had engag'd ſome of the ableſt Merchants and Tradeſmen in every Part of *Liſbon*, and promis'd, that if the Conſpirators would give them Warning over Night of the Hour they intended to riſe, punctually at that Time they would have Half the City up in Arms.

Pinto being thus ſure of the Citizens, turn'd his Thoughts to the other Conſpirators: He advis'd them to be ready for the Execution of their Plot upon the firſt Notice given them; that mean while he would have them pretend they had ſome private Quarrel, and engage their Friends to aſſiſt them, for many, he obſerv'd, were not fit to be entruſted with ſo important a Secret, and others could not, in cold Blood, behold the Dangers they muſt go through, and yet both be very ſerviceable when Matters were ripe, and only their Swords wanted.

Finding every body firm in their Reſolutions, and impatient to revenge themſelves upon the *Spaniards*, he conferr'd with *Almeida*, *Mendoza*, *Almada*, and *Mello*, who fix'd upon *Saturday*, the firſt of *December*, for the great, the important Day: Notice was immediately given to the Duke of *Braganza*, that he might cauſe himſelf to be proclaim'd King the ſame Day in the Province of *Alentejo*, moſt Part of which belong'd to him. After which, they agreed upon meeting once more before the Time.

Dec. 1. 1640.

On the Twenty-fifth of *November*, according to their Agreement, they met at *Braganza-*

Braganza-Houſe, where muſtering their Forces, they found that they could depend upon about One Hundred and Fifty Gentlemen, (moſt of them Heads of Families) with their Servants and Tenants, and about Two Hundred ſubſtantial Citizens, who could bring with them a conſiderable Number of inferior Workmen.

Vaſconcello's Death was unanimouſly reſolv'd on, as a juſt Victim, and which would be grateful to the People. Some urg'd, that the Archbiſhop of *Braga* deſerv'd the ſame Fate, eſpecially conſidering the Strength of his Genius, and the Greatneſs of his Courage; for it was not to be ſuppos'd that he would be an idle Looker-on, but would probably be more dangerous than the Secretary himſelf could be, by raiſing all the *Spaniards* who were in *Liſbon*, with their Creatures; and that whilſt they were buſy in making themſelves Maſters of the Palace, he, at the Head of his People, might fling himſelf into the Citadel, or come to the Aſſiſtance of the Vice-Queen, to whoſe Service he was entirely devoted; and that at ſuch a Time as this, Pity was unſeaſonable, and Mercy dangerous.

Theſe Conſiderations made the greateſt Part of the Aſſembly conſent to the Prelate's Death; and he had ſhar'd *Vaſconcello*'s Fate, had not * Don *Miguel d'Almeida* interpos'd. He repreſented to the Conſpirators, that the Death of a Man of the Prelate's Character and

* Macedo *tells us, that it was Don* Antonio d'Almada.

and Station, would make them odious to the People; that it would infallibly draw the Hatred of the Clergy, and of the Inquiſition in particular, (a People who at this Juncture were to be dreaded) upon the Duke of *Braganza*, to whom they would not only give the Names of Tyrant and Uſurper, but whom they would alſo excommunicate; that the Prince himſelf would be ſorely griev'd to have the Day ſtain'd with ſo cruel an Action; that he himſelf would engage to watch him ſo cloſely on that Day, that he ſhould not have an Opportunity of doing any thing which might be prejudicial to the common Cauſe. In ſhort, he urg'd ſo many things in his Behalf, that the Prelate's Life was granted, the Aſſembly not being able to deny any thing to ſo worthy an Advocate.

Nothing now remain'd, but to regulate the Order of the March and Attack, which was agreed upon in this manner: They ſhould divide into four Companies, which ſhould enter the Palace by four different Ways; ſo that all the Avenues to it being ſtopt, the *Spaniards* might have no Communication with, or be able to aſſiſt one another: That Don *Miguel d'Almeida*, with his, ſhould fall on the *German* Guard, at the Entrance of the Palace: That *Mello*, Lord *Ranger*, his Brother, and Don *Eſtevan d'Acugna*, ſhould attack the Guard, which was always ſet at a Place call'd the *Fort*: That the Lord Chamberlain *Emanuel Saa*, *Teillo de Menezes*, and *Pinto*, ſhould enter *Vaſconcello*'s Apartment, whom they muſt immediately diſpatch: That Don *Antonio d'Almada*, *Mendoza*, Don *Carlos Norogna*,

rogna, and *Antonio Salſaigna*, ſhould ſeize the Vice-Queen, and the *Spaniards* which were with her, to ſerve for Hoſtages, in caſe of Need. Mean while, ſome of the Gentlemen, with a few of the moſt reputable Citizens, ſhould proclaim Don *John*, Duke of *Braganza*, King of *Portugal*, throughout the City; and that the People being rais'd by their Acclamations, they ſhould make uſe of them to aſſiſt, where ever they found any Oppoſition. After this, they reſolv'd to meet on the firſt of *December* in the Morning, ſome at *Almeida*'s, ſome at *Almada*'s, and the reſt at *Mendoza*'s Houſe, where every Man ſhould be furniſh'd with neceſſary Arms.

While theſe things were tranſacting at *Liſbon*, and that the Duke's Friends were uſing all their Endeavours for his Re-eſtabliſhment, he receiv'd an Expreſs from *Olivarez*, (who grew very jealous of his Conduct) with poſitive Orders to come immediately to *Madrid*; and that he might have nothing to colour his Delay, he remitted him a Bill upon the Royal Treaſury for Ten Thouſand Ducats.

The Commands laid upon him were ſo plain and poſitive, that the Duke could not put off his Journey without juſtly increaſing his Suſpicion. He plainly foreſaw, that if he did not obey thoſe Orders, the Court of *Madrid* would take ſome ſuch Meaſures as might prove fatal to him, and wholly deſtroy their Projection; he would not therefore refuſe to obey, but made Part of his Houſhold immediately ſet out, and take the *Madrid* Road. In the Preſence of the Courier, he gave ſeveral Orders relating to the Conduct

of

of thoſe he left his Deputy-Governors, and in all Reſpects behav'd himſelf like a Man who was going a long Journey. He diſpatch'd a Gentleman to the Vice-Queen, to give her Notice of his Departure, and wrote to *Olivarez*, that he would be at *Madrid* in eight Days time at fartheſt; and that he might engage the Courier to report all theſe things, he made him a conſiderable Preſent, under Pretence of rewarding him for his expeditious Haſte, in bringing him Letters from the King, and his firſt Miniſters. At the ſame time he let the Conſpirators know what new Orders he had receiv'd from Court, that they might ſee the Danger of deferring the Execution of their Deſign; but they were ſcarce in a Capacity of aſſiſting him, an Accident having happen'd, which had almoſt broken all their Meaſures.

There was at *Liſbon* a Nobleman, who on all Occaſions had ſhewn an immortal Hatred to the *Spaniſh* Government; he never call'd them any thing but Tyrants and Uſurpers, and would openly rail at their unjuſt Proceedings, but nothing anger'd him more than the Expedition of *Catalonia*: *D'Almada* having taken Care to fall often into his Company, thought there was not a truer-hearted *Portugueſe* in the whole Kingdom, and that no one would more ſtrenuouſly labour for their Liberty. But oh Heaven! how great was his Surprize! when having taken him aſide, and diſcover'd the whole Conſpiracy to him, this baſe, this cowardly Wretch, whoſe whole Courage was plac'd in his Tongue, refus'd to have any Hand in the Buſineſs, or to engage

gage himſelf with the Conſpirators, pretending that their Plot had no ſolid Foundation: Bold and adventrous where no Danger was, but fearful and daunted as ſoon as it appear'd. "Have you, *ſaid he to* Almada, Forces enough "to undertake ſo great a thing? Where is "your Army to oppoſe the Troops of *Spain*, "who upon the firſt News of the Revolt "will enter the Kingdom? What Grandees "have you at your Head? Can they furniſh "you with Money ſufficient to defray the "Expence of a Civil War? I fear, *continued* "*he*, that inſtead of revenging yourſelves on "the *Spaniards*, and freeing *Portugal* from "Slavery, you will utterly ruin it, by gi-"ving the *Spaniards* a ſpecious Pretence for "doing what they have been ſo long endea-"vouring at."

D'Almada, who expected nothing leſs than ſuch an Anſwer, and being very much troubled at his having entruſted the Secret to a Man, who in all probability would betray it, without replying drew his Sword, and coming up to the other, his Eyes ſparkling with Rage; "Baſe Wretch, *ſaid he*, by thy de-"ceitful Words thou haſt drawn a Secret "from me, with which thou muſt take my "Life, or by the Loſs of thine atone for thy "Treachery." The other, who had always thought it ſafeſt to avoid the neareſt Danger, at the Sight of *d'Almada*'s naked Sword, promis'd to do any thing. He offer'd to ſign the Conſpiracy, and found weighty Reaſons to deſtroy his former Objections; he ſwore that he would bury the Secret in his Heart, and endeavour'd all he could to perſuade

Almada, that it was neither want of Courage, or Hatred to the *Spaniards*, which had at firſt made him averſe to what he had propos'd.

Notwithſtanding his Oaths and Promiſes, *d'Almada* could not be thoroughly ſatisfy'd of this Man's Fidelity; he took care, without loſing Sight of him, to let the others know what had happen'd. A general Conſternation immediately ſpread itſelf amongſt them, and they fear'd, that the Proſpect of the Danger which he muſt ſhare, or the Hope of a Reward, would make this Wretch betray them. Upon this, they reſolv'd to defer the Execution of their Project, and forc'd *Pinto* to write to his Maſter, to put off his being proclaim'd in his Country, till he ſhould hear further from them. But *Pinto*, who knew how dangerous it was to defer ſuch a Thing, tho' but for a Day, at the ſame time ſent him another Letter, in which he deſir'd him to take no Notice of his firſt, ſeeing that it was only the Effect of a panick Fear, which had ſeiz'd the Conſpirators, and which would be over long before the Expreſs arriv'd.

Nor was this crafty Man at all deceiv'd; for the next Day finding every thing ſtill and quiet, and the Perſon who caus'd the Alarm, making freſh Promiſes of Secrecy, they concluded that either he had arm'd his Mind with a generous Reſolution of aſſiſting them, or was afraid of impeaching ſo many Perſons of Quality; and therefore they determin'd to proceed to Execution on the appointed Day. But another Adventure happen'd, which diſquieted them as much as the former.

There

There were always in the Palace ſeveral of the Conſpirators, walking up and down like Courtiers out of Place; whoſe Buſineſs it was to obſerve what was done within; but on the Evening of the laſt of *November*, they came in a Fright to their Companions, to tell them that *Vaſconcellos* (by whoſe Death they were to begin the mighty Work), was juſt gone on board a Yatch, and had croſs'd the *Tagus*. Who but Conſpirators would have taken notice of ſo indifferent a thing? For a thouſand Reaſons, in which they were not concern'd, might have made him go on the other Side of the Water; but they immediately concluded, that this artful Stateſman, who had always his Spies abroad, had diſcover'd their Plot, and was about to bring into *Liſbon* thoſe Soldiers which were quarter'd in the Villages on the other Side of the River. Death, in its moſt ghaſtly Shape, appear'd to them, and they fancy'd that they already felt the cruelleſt Torments which could be inflicted. Some were reſolving to fly into *Africa*, others into *England*; and all of them ſpent the firſt Part of the Night in the greateſt Diſquiet imaginable, between the Hopes of Life, and Fear of Death. But about the Middle of the Night their Apprehenſions vaniſh'd; for ſome who had been ſauntring about the Port, to endeavour to diſcover the Secretary's Deſign, came and brought them the welcome News, that *Vaſconcellos* had been only diverting himſelf upon the Water, and that he was return'd, with the Muſick playing before him. A ſudden Joy ſucceeded to their Grief, and about an Hour after, being

inform'd that every thing was quiet in the Palace, and every body bury'd in a profound Sleep, they return'd home to enjoy a little Reſt, that they might be fitter for the Morning's Work.

It was very late, or rather very early, when they parted, and within ſome few Hours of their appointed Time, and yet an Accident happen'd within thoſe few Hours, which had almoſt betray'd them; ſo dangerous and uncertain are Enterprizes of this Nature, whilſt there are Men, whom Hopes of Gain, or Fear of Puniſhment, can work upon to betray their Fellows. Don *George Mello*, Brother to the Lord *Ranger*, lodg'd at a Relation's Houſe, in the furtheſt Suburbs of *Liſbon*. This Gentleman thought, that now the time was come in which the Conſpiracy would break out, and there was no Neceſſity of hiding it any longer from this Relation, whom he had Reaſon to believe was his Friend, as alſo one that might be ſerviceable to them, and who otherwiſe would for ever reproach him with having diſtruſted him as one not true to the Intereſt of his Country. Wherefore as ſoon as he came home, he went into his Chamber, and there reveal'd the Secret, deſiring him to join in the Enterprize with ſo many Perſons of Quality, and to behave himſelf as a *Portugueſe* ought to do upon ſuch an Occaſion. The other, ſurpriz'd at the Strangeneſs of this News, affected a ſeeming Joy for the approaching Liberty of his Country, thank'd *Mello* for the Confidence he repos'd in him, and aſſur'd him, that he accounted himſelf happy in having an Oppor-

Opportunity of expoſing his Life in ſo juſt and glorious a Cauſe.

Upon this *Mello* retir'd to his Chamber, to lay himſelf down to ſleep, but ſcarce was he got thither, when he began ſeriouſly to reflect upon what he had been doing, and could not but think himſelf guilty of a very inconſiderate Action, in putting the Lives of ſo many Perſons of Quality in the Power of One, of whoſe Principles he was not over-well aſſur'd; then began he to fancy, that he had obſerv'd ſomething of Fear in the Countenance of the Perſon, at the time when he was adviſing him to ſhare the Danger of the Undertaking.

Full of theſe Reflections, he could not lay him down to reſt, but was walking in great Diſorder about his Chamber, when he thought he over-heard a kind of whiſpering Noiſe. Opening his Window ſoftly, to ſee if any body was in the Street, he could perceive a Servant holding his Relation's Horſe, and himſelf ready to mount. Enrag'd at this, he ſnatch'd his Sword, and haſtening down Stairs, ſeiz'd his Kinſman, and aſk'd him whither he was going at this unſeaſonable time. The other would have forg'd an Excuſe, and was hammering out a Lye, but *Mello* holding his Point to his Breaſt, threaten'd to kill him, if he did not immediately go in again; then order'd he the Keys of the Houſe to be brought him, and having faſten'd all the Doors himſelf, he retir'd with his Kinſman, nor would he loſe Sight of him till it was time to go to the Rendezvouz, to which he carried him.

But now the Morning dawn'd, that was to decide whether the Duke of *Braganza* ſhould be the King and Deliverer of his Country, or be accounted a Rebel and Traitor.

Betimes in the Morning the Conſpirators met at the appointed Places, where they were to be furniſh'd with Arms. They all appear'd with ſo much Reſolution and Courage, that they rather ſeem'd marching to a certain Victory, than to an uncertain Enterprize. But what is very much to be admir'd at, is, that amongſt ſuch a Number of Nobility, Gentry, Citizens, nay, Prieſts, not one ſhould falſify his Word, or break his Promiſe, though their Intereſts in the Event were very different; but they all ſeem'd as impatient for the important Moment, as if each there had been the Contriver of the Scheme, or at the Head of the Enterprize; or rather, as if the Crown was to have been the Reward of each individual Man's Labour. Several Ladies alſo made themſelves famous on that Day. But the noble Behaviour of Donna *Philippa de Villenes* ought never to be forgotten, who with her own Hands arm'd both her Sons; and giving them their Swords, "Go, "my Children, *ſaid ſhe*, put an end to a "Tyrant's Power, revenge yourſelves on "your Enemies, free your Country, and be "aſſur'd, that if Succeſs does not crown your "Undertaking, your Mother never will live "to ſee the cruel Fate of ſo many brave and "deſerving Patriots."

Every one being arm'd, they made the beſt of their way towards the Palace, moſt of them

them in Litters, that they might conceal their Number and their Arms. There they divided into four Companies, and waited with Impatience till the Palace-Clock ſtruck Eight; that, and the firing of a Piſtol, being the appointed Signal. Never did Time ſeem ſo long; they fear'd that their being at that Place ſo early, and in ſuch a Number, might make the Secretary jealous of their Deſign: But at laſt the long expected Hour ſtruck, and *Pinto* firing a Piſtol, they ruſh'd forward to execute their bold Deſign.

Don *Miguel d'Almeida*, with thoſe that accompany'd him, fell upon the *German* Guard, who were ſo far from expecting any Attack, that they were ſitting very careleſsly, few of them having their Arms in Hand; ſo that they were cut to pieces without ſcarce making any Reſiſtance.

The Lord *Ranger*, with his Brother *Mello*, and Don *Eſtevan d'Acugna*, fell on the *Spaniards*, who kept Guard at a Place before the Palace, call'd the *Fort*. Theſe Nobles, follow'd by moſt of the Citizens who were engag'd in the Conſpiracy, fell upon the *Caſtilians* Sword in Hand, and fought moſt reſolutely; but no one behav'd himſelf more bravely than one of the City Prieſts: This Reverend Man, with a Crucifix in one Hand, and a Sword in the other, appear'd at the Head of his Party, and encourag'd the People, both by his Words and his Example, to cut their Enemies in pieces. The *Spaniards*, aw'd at the Sight of ſo religious an Object, neither durſt offend him, nor defend themſelves, but fled before him. In ſhort, after

ſome ſmall Reſiſtance, the Officer of the Guard, willing to ſave his own Life, was forc'd to cry out with the reſt, *Long live the Duke of* Braganza, *King of* Portugal!

Pinto having forc'd his way into the Palace, march'd at the Head of thoſe, who were to enter *Vaſconcellos*'s Apartment, ſo undauntedly, and with ſo little Concern, that meeting with an Acquaintance, who, ſurpriz'd and frighted, aſk'd him, whither he was going with ſuch a Number of arm'd Men, and what they deſign'd to do; "Nothing, *ſaid* "*he ſmiling*, but change our Maſter, rid you "of a Tyrant, and give *Portugal* their right-"ful King."

Entring the Secretary's Apartment, the firſt Perſon they met with was the * *Civil Corregidor*; who, thinking that the Noiſe he heard proceeded from ſome private Quarrel, would have interpos'd his Authority, but hearing a Cry of *Long live the Duke of* Braganza, *&c.* thought he was in Honour oblig'd to cry out, *Long live the King of* Spain *and* Portugal: but he loſt his Life for his ill-tim'd Loyalty, one of the Conſpirators immediately ſhooting him thro' the Head.

Antonio Correa, firſt Clerk of the Secretary's Office, ran out to know the Occaſion of this Tumult. This was the Man who was employ'd in oppreſſing the People, and who, after the Example of his Maſter, treated the Nobility of the Kingdom with Scorn and Contempt; therefore as ſoon as he appear'd, Don

* *The Judge in Capital Caſes.*

Don *Antonio de Menezes* plung'd his Sword into his Boſom. But the Blow not ending either his Life or Pride, and thinking that they had miſtaken him, he turn'd towards *Menezes*, his Eyes ſparkling with Rage and Indignation, and, in a paſſionate Manner, cry'd out, *Villain, dareſt thou ſtrike me?* But *Menezes*, without anſwering, redoubled his Blows; and the other, having receiv'd four or five Stabs, fell down: However, none of the Wounds prov'd mortal, and he eſcap'd at that time, to loſe his Life afterwards in an ignominious Manner, by the Hands of the common Hangman.

This Buſineſs had ſtopp'd the Conſpirators, but as ſoon as *Correa* fell, they all ruſh'd forwards towards *Vaſconcellos*'s Apartment. There was with him, at that Time, Don *Garcez Palleia*, a Captain of Foot; who ſeeing ſo many arm'd Men, immediately concluded, that their Deſign was to butcher the Secretary. And although he was under no manner of Obligation to that Miniſter, yet he thought himſelf in Honour oblig'd to lend him what Aſſiſtance he could; wherefore ſtanding at the Door, with his Sword in hand, he barr'd that Paſſage: But one of the Conſpirators running him thro' the Arm, and ſeveral, who were unwilling to give him fair Play, preſſing forward, he was glad to make his Eſcape, by leaping out of a Window.

Upon this all the Company, that was with *Pinto*, enter'd the Chamber at once, and ſought *Vaſconcellos*: They over-turn'd the Bed and

and Tables, broke open the Trunks, and every one was deſirous of giving him the firſt Blow; yet, ſpite of their Endeavour, they could not find him, and they began to fear that he had made his Eſcape: But at laſt an old Maid-Servant being threaten'd with Death, unleſs ſhe would tell where her Maſter was, and ſeeing the uplifted Swords, pointed to a Preſs which was made within the Wall, and in which they found the Secretary bury'd under a Heap of Papers.

So great was his Fear of Death, which he ſaw ſurrounding him on every Side, that it prevented his Speech. Don *Roderigo de Saa*, Lord Chamberlain, was the Man who kill'd him, by ſhooting him through the Head with a Piſtol; after which, ſeveral of the Conſpirators ſtabb'd him, then threw him out of the Window, crying, *Liberty! Liberty! The Tyrant is dead! Long live Don* John, *King of* Portugal!

The Noiſe which all this had made, had drawn a vaſt Number of People to the Palace-Court, who ſeeing the Secretary's Body thrown out, ſhouted in a moſt joyful Manner; then ruſhing upon the Carcaſe, they mangled it, every one being eager to give him a Stab, thinking that, through his Sides, they wounded Tyranny.

Thus periſh'd *Miguel Vaſconcellos*, a *Portugueſe* by Birth, but by Inclination a *Spaniard*, and a ſworn Enemy to his Country. He had an excellent Genius for Buſineſs, was crafty, politick, nor could any Man apply himſelf cloſer to it than he did. He was always inventing

venting new Ways of extorting Money from the People, was unmerciful, inexorable, and cruel, without the leaſt Regard to Friend or Relation; ſo fix'd, that after he had taken a Reſolution, no one could byaſs his Temper; and ſo harden'd, that he never knew what the Stings of Conſcience were. He had a Soul that was not capable of reliſhing any Pleaſure, but that of hoarding up Money; ſo that he left vaſt Sums behind him, part of which the People plunder'd, being willing to repay themſelves, in ſome Meaſure, that which had been extorted from them.

Pinto, without Loſs of Time, march'd directly to join the other Conſpirators, who were to make themſelves Maſters of the Palace, and to ſeize the Vice-Queen; he found that the Buſineſs was already done, and that Succeſs had every where crown'd their Undertakings. Thoſe who were appointed for that Expedition, came directly up to her Chamber, and the furious Mob, who follow'd them, threatning to ſet her Apartment on Fire, if the Door was not immediately open'd; the Vice-Queen thinking by her Preſence to pacify the Nobility, and awe the People, came out, attended by her Maids of Honour, and the Archbiſhop of *Braga*; and addreſſing herſelf to the chief Conſpirators, "I own, Gentlemen, *ſaid ſhe*, "that the Secretary juſtly deſerv'd your "Hatred and Indignation; his Cruelty and "his haughty Inſolence were intolerable; "nor can his Death be charg'd upon you

"as

" as a Crime, ſince you have only deliver'd " yourſelves from an oppreſſing Miniſter: But " cannot his Blood ſatisfy you? Or what " other Victim would you ſacrifice to your " Reſentment? Think ſeriouſly, that altho' " his illegal Conduct may excuſe this Inſur- " rection, yet ſhould you any longer conti- " nue in Arms, Rebellion will be laid at " your Doors, and you will put it out of my " Power to make your Peace with the " King."

Don *Antonio de Menezes* anſwer'd, and aſſur'd her, " That ſo many Perſons of Qua- " lity had not taken up Arms to murder a " Wretch, who ought to have loſt his Life " by the Hands of the common Hangman; " but that their Deſign was to reſtore the " Crown to the Duke of *Braganza*, to whom " it lawfully belong'd, and which the King " of *Spain* had unjuſtly uſurp'd; and that " they were all ready to ſacrifice their Lives " in ſo glorious a Cauſe." She was about to reply, and to interpoſe the King's Authority; but *d'Almeida*, who fear'd that ſuch a Speech might have a dangerous Effect upon the People, or at leaſt cool their Courages, interrupted her, ſaying, " That *Portugal* ac- " knowledg'd no other King but the Duke of " *Braganza*." Upon which the People ſhouted again, crying, *Long live Don* John, *King of* Portugal.

The Vice-Queen believing that her Preſence might be of Service in the City, and have a good Effect upon the People everywhere, where the Conſpirators were not preſent,

ſent, was going in haſte down Stairs, but Don *Carlos Norogna* ſtopp'd her, deſiring that ſhe would retire to her own Apartment, aſſuring her that ſhe ſhould be treated with as much Reſpect as if ſhe ſtill had the ſupreme Command in the Kingdom; but told her that it would be dangerous for ſo great a Princeſs to expoſe herſelf to the Inſults of a furious People, who were jealous of their Liberties, and enflam'd with Thirſt of Revenge. The Queen eaſily underſtood the Meaning of his Words, and found that ſhe was their Priſoner. Enrag'd at this, "And "what can the People do to me?" *cry'd ſhe.* "Nothing, Madam, *reply'd* Norogna *in a* "*Paſſion*, but fling your Highneſs out of the "Window."

The Archbiſhop of *Braga* hearing this Anſwer, grew furious, and ſnatching a Sword from one of the Soldiers who ſtood next him, he flew towards *Norogna*, reſolving to revenge the Vice-Queen, and had certainly met with Death, the juſt Reward of his Raſhneſs, had not Don *Miguel d'Almeida* laid hold of him, and embracing him, begg'd him to conſider what Danger he expos'd himſelf to, telling him that he was already hated enough by the Conſpirators; nor had he found it an eaſy Taſk to obtain a Promiſe of them that they would ſpare his Life; why then would he urge them by an Action, which would not only be unprofitable to his Cauſe, but which alſo ſo highly miſbecame his Character. The Prelate, convinc'd of the Truth of what his Friend ſaid, was oblig'd to diſſemble his Anger;

Anger; however, he hoped that he ſhould meet with ſome favourable Opportunity of reveng̃ing himſelf on *Norogna*, and doing ſomething for the Service of *Spain*, to whoſe Intereſt he was entirely devoted.

The reſt of the *Spaniards* who were in the Palace, were made Priſoners by the other Conſpirators: Amongſt theſe, were the Marquis of *Puebla*, Major-Domo to the Vice-Queen, and elder Brother to the Marquis *de Leganez*; Don *Didaco Cardenas*, Lieutenant-General of the Cavalry; Don *Ferdinand de Caſtro*, Comptroller of the Navy-Office; the Marquis *de Baynetto*, an *Italian*, Gentleman-Uſher to the Vice-Queen; with ſome Sea-Officers, who lay on Shore, and whoſe Ships were in the Harbour. All this was done as regularly and quietly, as if they had been taken up by an Order from the King of *Spain*, no body ſtirring to their Aſſiſtance, and they not being able to defend themſelves, moſt of them having been ſeiz'd in their Beds.

This done, Don *Antonio de Salſaigni*, follow'd by a Crowd of Friends, and an innumerable Multitude of People, went up into the Hall, where the Court of Juſtice was then ſitting, and in an elegant Speech laid before them the preſent Happineſs of *Portugal*, who had reſtor'd their own lawful King; he told them, that Tyranny was now no more, and that the Laws, which had been long ſlighted and neglected, ſhould henceforward take their regular Courſe. This Speech was applauded by the whole Court, and they chang'd the Title of their

their Decrees, which they no longer made in the Name of the King of *Spain*, but in the Name of Don *John*, King of *Portugal*.

Whilſt *Salſaigni* was thus perſuading the High Court of Juſtice to adhere to the Duke of *Braganza*'s Intereſt, Don *Gaſton Coutingno* was taking out of Priſon thoſe who had been thrown into it by the Cruelty of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter. Theſe unhappy Wretches, who had all along been perſuaded, that they ſhould end their Lives in their diſmal Dungeons, unleſs taken out to be led to a cruel Death; ſeeing themſelves now at liberty, and their Country in a fair way of being freed, and reſolving to ſuffer any thing, rather than to return to their dark Priſons, form'd a Body no leſs formidable than that of the Conſpirators, and who were as fully reſolv'd to ſet the Duke of *Braganza* on the Throne.

But in the midſt of this general Joy, *Pinto*, with the reſt of the Leaders, were under great Apprehenſions: The *Spaniards* were yet Maſters of the Citadel, from whence they could eaſily burn and deſtroy the Town; beſides which, the Port was open to the *Spaniſh* Fleet: therefore thinking that they had done nothing till they had taken that Place, they went up to the Vice-Queen, and deſir'd her to ſign a Warrant to the Governor, by virtue of which he ſhould be oblig'd to give them Poſſeſſion of the Citadel.

She, far from granting what they aſk'd, upbraided them as Rebels and Traitors, and with

with Indignation aſk'd them, Whether they had a mind to make her an Accomplice? But *d'Almada*, who knew how dangerous it was to leave the Enemies any longer in that Fort, and being provok'd at the Vice-Queen's Denial, his Eyes ſparkling with Rage, ſwore violently, that if ſhe did not ſign the Warrant, he would forthwith put every one of the *Spaniards* to Death, whom they had taken in the Palace.

The poor Princeſs, frighten'd with theſe Threats, and unwilling to be the Occaſion of the Death of ſo many Perſons of Quality, was oblig'd to comply, thinking at the ſame time that the Governor knew his Duty too well, to obey an Order, which he might be aſſur'd was ſign'd by Compulſion; but ſhe was very much miſtaken in her Conjecture, for Don *Lewis del Campo*, the *Spaniſh* Governor, was a Man of no Reſolution at all, and ſeeing the Conſpirators coming arm'd towards the Citadel, and all the People of the Town following them, who threaten'd to cut him and his Garriſon in pieces, unleſs he immediately ſurrender'd, was glad to ſee the Warrant; and have ſo fair an Excuſe for his Cowardice; wherefore he immediately obey'd the Order, and gave up the Fort.

Proud of having diſpatch'd their Buſineſs ſo happily, the Conſpirators forthwith deputed *Mendoza*, and the Lord *Ranger*, to the Duke of *Braganza*, to acquaint him with their Succeſs, and aſſure him, that nothing was now wanting but the Preſence of their King, to compleat the Happineſs of his Subjects.

Not-

Notwithſtanding their Meſſage, his Preſence was not equally coveted by every body. The Grandees of the Kingdom could not ſee him rais'd to the Throne, without being inwardly jealous of his Fortune; and thoſe of the Nobility, who were not let into the Secret, refuſed as yet to declare themſelves; nay, ſome went ſo far as to aſſure the People, that the Duke would never approve of ſo raſh an Action, and whoſe Conſequence might be ſo fatal to them all. Thoſe who were in the *Spaniſh* Intereſt were in a ſtrange Conſternation, and did not dare ſo much as ſtir abroad, leſt they ſhould be ſacrificed by the People, whoſe Rage was not yet appeaſed: In ſhort, every body ſeemed at an Uncertainty, and waited impatiently for the Reſolutions of the Duke of *Braganza*.

But his Friends, who were better acquainted with his Intentions, ſtill purſued what they had ſo happily began, and aſſembled in the Palace, to give the neceſſary Orders. The Archbiſhop of *Liſbon* was unanimouſly choſen Preſident of the Council, and Lord-Lieutenant of *Portugal* till the King's Arrival. He would at firſt have refuſed the Office, declaring that his Opinion was, that they had more need of a good General at their Head, than of a Man of his Character. However, being preſſed by the Aſſembly to accept the Place, he conſented to it, on Condition that he might have the Archbiſhop of *Braga* for his Collegue; who, he ſaid, was well acquainted with the Buſineſs, and might be

very ſerviceable to him during the King's Abſence.

This cunning Prelate choſe his Brother Archbiſhop ſooner than any other Man, well knowing that if he did accept it, he made himſelf an Accomplice in what he call'd Rebellion, and would be accounted criminal by the *Spaniſh* Miniſter: Beſides which, he would have only had the Title of one of the Lord-Lieutenants, without any Share of the Power. But if, on the other hand, he refus'd it, he ſhould for ever put him out of the King's Favour, and make him odious to all the People, who henceforwards would look on him as an open and profeſs'd Enemy to his Country.

The Archbiſhop of *Braga* was very ſenſible of the Snare which was laid for him, but as he was wholly devoted to the Vice-Queen, and firm to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, he refus'd having any thing to do with the Adminiſtration; ſo that the whole Burden of the publick Affairs fell upon the Archbiſhop of *Liſbon*: to eaſe him of Part of which, they gave him for Aſſiſtants Don *Miguel d'Almeida*, *Pedro Mendoza*, and Don *Antonio d'Almada*.

One of the firſt Orders which the new Governor gave, was to ſeize upon the three *Spaniſh* Galleons which were then in the Harbour; upon which they arm'd a few Barks, and in them went moſt part of the *Liſbon* Youth, ſo deſirous were they of ſhewing their Affection to the King: but the Galleons were taken without Reſiſtance, the Officers,

Officers, and the greateſt part of the Ship's Crew, having been ſeiz'd in the Morning aſhore.

That very Evening Couriers were diſpatch'd to every Province, to exhort the People to give Thanks for the Recovery of their Liberties, and the Reſtoration of the Duke of *Braganza*; with Orders at the ſame time to all Governors of Towns, and other Magiſtrates, to have him proclaim'd King of *Portugal*, and to take all the *Spaniards*, in their reſpective Diſtricts, into Cuſtody.

And now they began to prepare every thing at *Liſbon* for the Reception of the new King, and the Archbiſhop ſent word to the late Vice-Queen, that ſhe would very much oblige them, in leaving the Palace where ſhe was, for he thought the King would want her Apartment, and that he had prepar'd every thing for her Reception at the Palace of *Xabregas*, which was at the farther End of the Town. This Princeſs receiv'd the Order with a ſcornful Look, and without anſwering a word, obey'd it. She went through the Street, but without the uſual Train of Courtiers and Crowd of People; there was only the Archbiſhop of *Braga* with her, who ſtill gave her manifeſt Tokens of his Reſpect, even now when he expos'd his Life by ſo doing.

Mean while the Duke of *Braganza* continued in the cruel State of Uncertainty, ſometimes flattering himſelf with the moſt pleaſing Ideas which a lively Hope can form, and ſometimes under the moſt diſmal Appre-

henſions which frighten'd Fancy can ſuggeſt. The Diſtance between *Villaviciosa* and *Liſbon* being thirty Leagues, he could not know what paſs'd in his Behalf ſo ſoon as he could have wiſh'd. All that he knew was, that on this Day his Life and Fortune were at ſtake. He had at firſt reſolved to have himſelf proclaimed at the ſame time in all the Towns which were under his Dependance; but his Mind changed, and he determined to wait for the News of what had paſſed at *Liſbon*, before he undertook any thing. There ſtill remained the Kingdom of *Algarva*, and the Citadel of *Elvas*, to which he could retire, in caſe his Party at *Liſbon* ſhould fail; nay, he thought he could clear himſelf of having any Hand in the Conſpiracy, eſpecially at a time when the *Spaniards* would be glad to believe him innocent.

He had planted ſeveral Couriers on the Road to *Liſbon*, and thereby expected to have an Account of what had paſſed betimes; but he had waited with Impatience all the Day, and the greateſt part of the Night, without hearing any thing, and the next Morning was already near at hand, when *Mello* and *Mendoza*, who had rode Poſt from *Liſbon*, arriv'd. They threw themſelves at the Duke's Feet, by which Action, as well as by the Joy which appeared in their Faces, the Succeſs of their Undertaking might be better read, than it was poſſible for them to expreſs.

They were about to give him an exact Account of every thing, but the Duke, without hearing a word of what they had to tell him,

him, conducted them to the Dutcheſs's Apartment. The two Noblemen ſaluted her with the ſame Reſpect, as if ſhe had actually been upon the Throne; they aſſured her of the good Wiſhes and Fidelity of her Subjects: and to ſhew her that they acknowledg'd her their Queen, they now gave her the Title of *Majeſty*, whereas the Kings and Queens of *Portugal* had hitherto been always call'd *their Highneſſes*.

We may eaſily judge of what paſs'd in the Hearts of this Royal Pair, if we conſider the Fears and Agitations which they were before in, and to what Grandeur they were now raiſed. Nothing but Shouts of Joy were heard throughout the Palace, the happy News ſoon ſpread, and the ſame Morning the King was proclaimed in all thoſe Places, where it ſhould have been done the Day before; *Mello* and *Alphonſo* alſo had him proclaimed at *Elvas*. The People came in Crowds to pay their Homage to the new King; which, though in a confus'd manner, was no leſs agreeable to him, than what he afterwards received in all the formal Pomp of Ceremony.

The King immediately ſet out for *Liſbon*, with the ſame Equipage which had been prepar'd for his ſetting out for *Madrid*. He was accompany'd by the Marquis *de Ferreira*, a Relation of his; the Count *de Vimioſo*; and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, who were come to wait upon him to the Capital.

The Queen he left at *Villavicioſa*, knowing that her Preſence was neceſſary there, to keep the Provinces in Awe. Every-where, upon the Roads to *Liſbon*, they met with infinite Numbers of People, who crouded forwards to ſee the King; who had the Satisfaction every-where of hearing the People bleſſing him, and curſing the *Spaniards*. All the Nobility, with the whole Court, and the
Dec. 6. Magiſtrates of the City, met him at a great Diſtance from *Liſbon*, and he enter'd the Town amidſt the Acclamations of a joyful People.

That Evening there were Illuminations every-where, and Fireworks in every publick Place; each Citizen in particular had a Bonfire before his Door, which made a *Spaniard* ſay, "The Duke of *Braganza* was a "happy Prince, who had got a whole King-"dom for a Bonfire." Nor was it long indeed before he was Maſter of the whole Kingdom, every Town follow'd the Example of their Capital, and ſeem'd as if they had a Plot ripe for Execution. Freſh Couriers every Day arriv'd, who brought News of Towns, and ſometimes of whole Provinces, which had driven the *Caſtilians* out, and proclaimed the Duke of *Braganza*. Nor were many of the *Spaniſh* Governors more reſolute than the Commander of the Citadel of *Liſbon*; and whether they wanted Soldiers, Ammunition, or Courage, is uncertain, but moſt of them ſurrender'd, without ſo much as giving the *Portugueſe* the Trouble of firing a Gun. In ſhort, they fled the Kingdom like

like ſo many Criminals who had broke out of Priſon; each Man dreaded *Vaſconcellos*'s Fate, and trembled at the Sight of an incens'd Multitude: nor was there a *Spaniard* left in the whole Kingdom, but thoſe who were taken into Cuſtody, and all this in leſs than a Fortnight's time.

Don Ferdinand de la Cueva, Commander of the Citadel of *St. Juan*, at the Mouth of the *Tagus*, was the only Man who offer'd to make any Reſiſtance, and to preſerve the Place for the King his Maſter. The Garriſon was wholly compoſed of *Spaniards*, the Officers brave, and reſolv'd to hold it out to the laſt; and therefore, as ſoon as the *Portugueſe* approached them, made a vigorous Defence. They were obliged to beſiege it in Form; to that end they brought Cannon from *Liſbon*, and open'd the Trenches before it, which they carried as far as the Counterſcarp, ſpite of the Beſieged's continual Fire, and their frequent Sallies. But the King, who knew that treating with the Commander would be not only the ſafeſt, but the ſhorteſt Way, made him ſuch advantageous Propoſals, that the Governor could not reſiſt the Temptation; but dazzled with the Proſpect of the vaſt Sum which was offer'd, beſides a Commandry of the *Order of Chriſt*, and pretending that his Garriſon was not ſtrong enough to hold out a Siege, he ſurrender'd upon Terms, ſpite of the chief Officers, who refus'd to ſign the Capitulation.

This done, the King thought it beſt not to defer his Coronation, that he might there-

by confirm his Royalty, and conſecrate his Majeſty. The Ceremony was perform'd on the Fifteenth of *December* with all the Magnificence imaginable; the Duke *d'Aveiro*, the Marquis *de Villareal*, the Duke *de Carmino*, his Son, the Count *de Monſano*, and all the other Grandees of the Kingdom, being preſent. The Archbiſhop of *Liſbon*, at the Head of all the Clergy of his Dioceſe, and accompany'd by ſeveral other Biſhops, met him at the Door of the Cathedral; there he was ſolemnly acknowledg'd by the States of the Kingdom their Rightful and Lawful King: after which every one of them took the Oath of Allegiance.

Some few Days after the Coronation, the Queen arriv'd at *Liſbon* with a ſumptuous Equipage and numerous Retinue. All the Court went out of Town to meet her, and ſhe already had with her all the Officers of her Houſhold. The King himſelf met her at ſome Diſtance from the Town. This Prince omitted nothing which might make her Entry appear magnificent, and convince the People that he believ'd ſhe had very much contributed to the placing the Crown upon his Head. Every one obſerv'd, that notwithſtanding her Fortune was alter'd, yet was not the Queen in the leaſt chang'd, but behav'd herſelf as majeſtically, as if ſhe had been born to, and was educated for the Poſſeſſion of a Throne.

SUCH was the Succeſs of this great Enterprize, as happily finiſh'd, as it was prudently begun; which may be reckon'd a

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ſort of Miracle, conſidering the vaſt Number of Perſons, and the different Quality and Inclinations of thoſe who were let into the Secret: Nor can it be accounted for, but from the natural Hatred which the *Portugueſe* had to a *Spaniſh* Government; a Hatred! which took its firſt Riſe from the frequent Wars which theſe neighbouring Nations waged againſt one another, ever ſince they had been Monarchies; as well as from their being both concern'd in the Diſcovery of the *Indies*, and the frequent Debates which they had concerning their Commerce. Theſe at laſt grew into an inveterate Hatred, which was now increas'd by the Tyranny of *Spain*.

The News of the Revolution ſoon reach'd the Court of *Spain*. *D'Olivarez* was almoſt driven to Deſpair at the hearing of it; he ſaw his own Project miſcarry, and Ruin threatning his Country, which might have been eaſily prevented, but could not now be remedy'd. Nor had *Spain* any Need of acquiring new Enemies, the *French* and *Dutch* Troops already employ'd their utmoſt Forces, with much ado they reſiſted their combin'd Strength; and the Revolt of *Catalonia*, he fear'd, might invite other Provinces to do the like.

There was no one now in the Court of *Madrid* ignorant of the News, but the King himſelf; every one thought that he ought to be inform'd of it, yet no one dar'd undertake the ungrateful Taſk, for fear of incurring the Miniſter's Diſpleaſure, whoſe implacable Temper they knew too well, to hope

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that he would ever forgive an Offence of this Nature. At laſt the Duke, ſeeing that the Story was too well known, to be any longer conceal'd from the King, and fearing that ſome of his Enemies, either to ingratiate or revenge themſelves, ſhould tell it in ſuch a manner, that the whole Fault would ſeem to fall upon him, he reſolv'd to be himſelf the Meſſenger, and coming up to the King, with a ſerene Look, and a Face on which a diſſembled Joy ſat confeſs'd, "I wiſh your Ma-"jeſty Joy, *ſaid he*, of a noble Dutchy, and "a fine Eſtate, which are lately fallen to "you." How, *Olivarez! anſwer'd the King*; "What do you mean?" "Mean! *reply'd* "*the Miniſter*; why the Duke of *Braganza* "is run mad, the Mob have proclaim'd him "King of *Portugal*, and he has accepted the "Title; ſo that now all he has is confiſca-"ted, and you have a good Pretence to rid "yourſelf of the whole Family: Hencefor-"wards you may reign King of *Portugal*, nor "fear that any one will diſpute your Title to "that Kingdom."

As weak a Prince as *Philip* was, he eaſily comprehended the Meaning of theſe Words; but as he could no longer ſee but through his Miniſter's Eyes, he only told him, That he muſt take care betimes to put an End to a Rebellion, whoſe Conſequence might otherwiſe prove dangerous.

Mean while the King of *Portugal* took all the neceſſary Meaſures to confirm his new Authority. As ſoon as he came to *Liſbon*, he nam'd Governors for every Town of *Portugal*,

Portugal, as much diſtinguiſh'd for their Fidelity to him, as for their Experience and approv'd Valour; who immediately, with what Soldiers they could get together, went to take Poſſeſſion of their Command, and to put the Place in a Poſture of Defence. At the ſame time recruiting Commiſſions were given out; and the Solemnity of his Coronation being over, he call'd together the States of the Kingdom; in which, to prevent all the Doubts and Scruples which might riſe in the Minds of the People, his Pretenſions to the Crown were examin'd, and by a ſolemn Decree of the States he was acknowledg'd Rightful and Lawful King, as being deſcended from Prince *Edward*, Son to King *Emanuel*; whereas the King of *Spain* was only deſcended from a Daughter of the ſame King *Emanuel*, who alſo by the Fundamental Laws of *Portugal*, was excluded the Succeſſion, having eſpous'd a foreign Prince. *Jan.* 28. 1640-1.

In this Aſſembly the King declar'd, that he would content himſelf with his own Eſtate, and that the uſual Royal Revenue ſhould be apply'd to the defraying of the extraordinary Expences, and paying the Debts of the Kingdom. And the better to ingratiate himſelf with the People, he took off all the Taxes which the oppreſſing *Spaniards* had laid upon them.

To all the conſiderable Offices and Employments, he promoted thoſe of the Conſpirators, whoſe Birth and Capacity might give them juſt Pretenſions to it, and who had ſhewn the greateſt Deſire of raiſing him to the

the Throne. In this Promotion, no Notice was taken of *Pinto*; the King did not think his Royalty ſufficiently confirm'd, to venture at raiſing one of his Servants, and whoſe Extraction was but mean. However, the Prince was not in the leaſt unmindful of his Service, and without having the Title of a Miniſter of State, he had the Authority of one; ſo great was his Influence over his Maſter, and ſuch entire Confidence did he repoſe in him.

Having given all the neceſſary Orders within the Kingdom, he reſolv'd to aſſure himſelf of ſome foreign Aſſiſtance, in caſe of Neceſſity, as well by making ſtrict Alliances with all the Enemies of *Spain*, as by raiſing them new ones. To this End he endeavour'd to perſuade the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, Governor of *Andaluſia*, and his Brother-in-law, to follow his Example, ſhake off the *Spaniſh* Yoke, and make himſelf an independent Prince. The Marquis *Daiamonti*, a *Spaniſh* Nobleman, and related to the Queen of *Portugal*, was to negotiate this Buſineſs, the Succeſs of which will be ſeen in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

The King of *Portugal* made a League offenſive and defenſive with the *Dutch*; *France* promis'd him its Protection, and he ſent Ambaſſadors to all the Courts of *Europe*, that his Title might be acknowledg'd by their Princes. But the King of *Spain* was ſo deſtitute of Men, *Catalonia* employing all his Forces, that he did very little all that Campaign for the

the Recovery of *Portugal*, and even what he did undertake met with no Succeſs.

Some little Time after this, News was brought that *Goa*, and all thoſe other Places which belong'd to *Portugal*, whether in the *Indies*, *Africa*, or in *Peru*, had follow'd the Example of their *European* Maſters, and revolted from the *Spaniards*. Thus was the King flatter'd with the Proſpect of a happy Reign, and rejoic'd to ſee Peace and Tranquility preſerv'd within his Kingdom, whilſt his Arms met with Succeſs abroad; little ſuſpecting the Danger which threaten'd his Life and Crown, both which he had almoſt loſt by a curſed Conſpiracy, which was form'd even in the midſt of that Prince's Court.

The Archbiſhop of *Braga*, as has before been obſerv'd, was wholly devoted to the King of *Spain*, during whoſe Reign in *Portugal*, he had *had* a great Share in the Miniſtry. He now plainly ſaw, that he muſt never hope for any Preferment, unleſs the *Spaniſh* Government could be again introduc'd into that Kingdom; beſides, he fear'd that the new King, who out of a tender Regard to his Character, had not had him put into Priſon with the other *Spaniards*, might alter his Mind, and ſeeing his Authority once confirm'd, and dreading no longer the Danger of incenſing the People, or provoking the Inquiſition, might make him ſhare the Fate of thoſe, whoſe Courage, or Politicks 'twas thought, might prove prejudicial to the new King's Government, and who had all been de-

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priv'd of their Liberty. But the chief Motive which induc'd him to undertake ſomething for their Cauſe, was his Affection to the late Vice-Queen: With Impatience he beheld that Princeſs under Confinement, eſpecially in a Place where he thought it was her Right to Rule; and his Rage was violently increas'd by the Orders which were given her Guards to admit neither the Prelate, nor any other Perſon of Quality, the King having been inform'd that ſhe endeavour'd to infuſe Sentiments of Rebellion into all thoſe *Portugueſe* who went to viſit her; and therefore thought fit to deprive her of that Liberty, which ſhe ſo palpably abus'd. As juſt and as neceſſary as this Proceeding was, the Archbiſhop call'd it cruel and tyrannick; and as he had ſome Notions of Gratitude, believ'd himſelf under an Obligation of doing ſomething for the Liberty of a Princeſs, who had done ſo much for him. The Remembrance of her paſt Kindneſs enflam'd his Soul with Anger, and made him reſolve to embrace any Opportunity whatſoever of revenging himſelf on her Enemies, and delivering her out of their Hands. But as he plainly ſaw it would be impoſſible either to ſurprize or corrupt her Guards, he could not think of any ſurer Way than going directly to the Fountain-Head, and by the Death of the King, to reſtore her Liberty and Authority both at once.

Being fully confirm'd in this Reſolution, he began to think of the ſpeedieſt Means of putting it in Execution, well knowing that he ſhould not long enjoy the Place of Preſi-

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dent of the Palace, which was not as yet taken from him. He plainly ſaw that it was in vain to follow the King's Meaſures, by endeavouring to win the People, and make them join with him; their Hatred to the *Spaniards* being too deeply rooted in their Hearts. The Nobility, he was aſſur'd, wou'd not aſſiſt him, ſince by their Means the Crown was placed upon the Duke of *Braganza*'s Head: He could therefore only depend upon the Grandees, who with Envy beheld one that had been their Equal, upon the Throne. The firſt Thing he did, was to aſſure himſelf of *Olivarez*'s Protection and Aſſiſtance: After which, he began to work upon the Marquis of *Villareal*; to whom he repreſented, that the new King was timorous and diffident, for which Reaſon he ſought all Opportunities of ruining his Family, leſt he ſhould leave a Subject who was capable of diſputing the Crown with his Succeſſor: That he and the Duke *d'Aveiro*, who were both of the Royal Blood, were not thought worthy of any Office or Employment; whilſt all Places of Truſt were fill'd by a Company of factious and ſeditious People: That with Indignation the People ſaw how little he was valued, and were very much troubled to think that a Perſon of his Quality and Capacity, muſt ſpend his Time at a Country-Seat, and in an inglorious Eaſe: That one of his Birth and Eſtate, was too great to be the Subject of ſo petty a Prince as the King of *Portugal*: That he had loſt a Maſter in the King of

of *Spain*, who only was capable of beſtowing ſuch Employments on him as he deſerv'd, by reaſon of the many Kingdoms of which he was Sovereign, and over which he muſt eſtabliſh Governors.

Seeing that this Diſcourſe made an Impreſſion on the Mind of the Marquis, he went ſo far as to aſſure him, that he had Orders from the King of *Spain* to promiſe him the Viceroyalty of *Portugal*, as a Reward of his Loyalty, in caſe he would aſſiſt him in his Deſign of recovering that Kingdom.

Notwithſtanding what the Archbiſhop promis'd, the Thing was very far from his Heart; his chief Aim being to reſtore the Dutcheſs of *Mantua* to her Liberty and former Authority: For the compaſſing of which, he thought it very lawful to promiſe what he never intended to perform; and he knew that ambitious Motives were the likelieſt to engage the Marquis *de Villareal*, upon whom his fair Speeches had at laſt ſuch an Effect, that he yielded to his Perſuaſions, and promis'd that he, with his Son the Duke of *Camino*, would be at the Head of the Enterprize.

This Prelate being thus aſſur'd of theſe two Princes, made it his next Buſineſs to engage the Grand Inquiſitor, who was his intimate Friend, and than whom no one could be more neceſſary in carrying on their great Deſign; ſeeing that by his Means he ſhould alſo prevail upon all the Officers belonging to the Inquiſition, a People more to be dreaded by honeſt Men than Rogues, and who

who bear a great Sway amongſt the *Portugueſe*. He endeavour'd at firſt to alarm his Conſcience, by reminding him of the Oath of Allegiance which he had taken to the King of *Spain*, and which he ought not to break in Favour of an uſurping Tyrant; but finding the Inquiſitor a True Churchman, over whom Intereſt had a greater Sway than Conſcience, he told him that he muſt join in the Plot, if he hoped to keep his Place much longer, for that the new King made it his Buſineſs to give all the Employments to Perſons whoſe Fidelity he could depend upon.

After this, he ſpent ſeveral Months in increaſing the Number of Conſpirators, the Chief of which were the Commiſſary of the Cruſade, the Count *d'Armamar*, Nephew to the Archbiſhop; the Count *de Bellcrais*; Don *Auguſtin Emanuel*; *Antonio Correa*, that Clerk of *Vaſconcellos*, to whom *Menezes* had given divers Stabs on the firſt Day of the Revolution; *Laurento Pidez Carvable*, Keeper of the Royal Treaſury; with ſeveral others, who were the Creatures of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, to whom they ow'd their Fortunes and their Places, and which they could not hope to keep long, unleſs by once more introducing the *Spaniſh* Government.

There were alſo a vaſt Number of *Jews* who were concern'd in the Plot, and who had long liv'd at *Liſbon* in an outward Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith. Theſe had lately offer'd the King a vaſt Sum of Money, if he would free them from the Perſecution of the Inquiſitors, and let them have their

Synagogues at *Liſbon*; but the Prince rejected their Offer, and deny'd their Petition. This had thrown the Chief of them into a great Conſternation, for appearing at the Head of the Petitioners, they had made themſelves known, and thereby expos'd themſelves to all the Torments which the Inquiſition could invent.

With theſe the Archbiſhop took Care to get acquainted, and taking Advantage of the Confuſion they were in, promis'd them his Protection, which was not to be deſpis'd, ſince he had ſuch an Influence over the Grand Inquiſitor; but inſinuated at the ſame Time, that they were in Danger of being baniſh'd *Portugal* by the King, who affected very much to be thought a true and pious Catholick: And at the ſame Time promis'd in the Name of the King of *Spain*, that if they would be inſtrumental to his Reſtoration, they ſhould have Liberty of Conſcience, and Leave openly to profeſs their Religion.

So violent was the Paſſion of the Archbiſhop, that he was not aſham'd to make uſe of the profeſs'd Enemies of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to drive a *Chriſtian* Prince from a Throne, which rightfully belong'd to him; and this was perhaps the firſt Time that ever the Inquiſition and Synagogue went Hand in Hand together.

Several Schemes were propos'd, but at laſt this, which was drawn by the Archbiſhop, and approv'd of by the firſt Miniſter of *Spain*, was agreed upon; That the *Jews* ſhould ſet Fire to the four Corners of the Palace

Palace on the 5th of *Auguſt*, and at the ſame Time to ſeveral Houſes both in the City and Suburbs, that the People might every where be employ'd in extinguiſhing the Fire; that the Conſpirators ſhould all fly to the Palace under Pretence of aſſiſting, and that amidſt the Horror and Confuſion which this vaſt Conflagration would cauſe, ſome of them ſhould aſſaſſinate the King; that the Duke *de Camino* ſhould ſeize the Queen and her Children, who might be as ſerviceable to them in regaining the Citadel, as the Dutcheſs of *Mantua* had been to their Enemies; that at the ſame Time there ſhould be Fireworks ready to be play'd off, to ſet the *Portugueſe* Fleet on Fire; that the Archbiſhop, with the Grand Inquiſitor, and all his Officers, ſhould march through the Town, to keep the People in Awe, and prevent their coming to the Aſſiſtance of the King, ſo much do they dread the Power of the Inquiſition; and that the Marquis *de Villareal* ſhould take the Adminiſtration upon him, 'till they had receiv'd Orders from the Court of *Spain*.

But, as they had not the leaſt Reaſon to hope that the People would ſecond them, they thought it neceſſary to make ſure of ſome Troops, and to that End wrote to *Olivarez*, to ſend a Fleet towards the Coaſts of *Portugal*, which ſhould be ready to enter the Port of *Liſbon*, at the Time when the Conſpiracy ſhould break out; and that there ſhould be ſome Forces on Foot on the Frontiers of the Kingdom, which ſhould be in a Readineſs to act againſt any Place, which would

not willingly ſurrender to the King of *Spain*.

But the moſt difficult Part of their Labour, was to keep an exact Correſpondence with the *Spaniſh* Miniſter: For ſince the King had been inform'd that the Dutcheſs of *Mantua* had ſent Letters to *Madrid*, there was ſuch a ſtrict Guard kept upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom, that no one could go into *Caſtile* without the King's own Paſſport; nor did they dare attempt to corrupt the Guards, leſt they ſhould reveal what had been offer'd them.

But at laſt, ſeeing themſelves under an abſolute Neceſſity of acquainting the *Spaniſh* Miniſter with their Deſign, without which all their Meaſures would infallibly be broken; they caſt their Eyes upon a rich Merchant of *Liſbon*, who was Treaſurer of the Cuſtom-Houſe; and who, by Reaſon of his great Trade, had the King's immediate Leave to ſend Letters into *Caſtile* at any time. This Man's Name was *Baeze*; he outwardly profeſs'd the Chriſtian Religion, but was ſuppos'd to be a conceal'd Obſerver of the *Jewiſh* Law. To him they offer'd vaſt Sums of Money for his Aſſiſtance; which, together with the Perſuaſions of the *Jews* who were engag'd in the Conſpiracy, prevail'd upon him ſo far, that he promis'd to take Care that their Letters ſhould be deliver'd to the Duke *d'Olivarez*.

To this End, he enclos'd the Packet directed to the Marquis *Daiamonti*, Governor of the firſt Town on the Frontiers of *Spain*,

Spain, believing his Letters ſafe, when once out of the Dominions of *Portugal*.

The Marquis, who was nearly related to the Queen, and was at that Time carrying on a *Negotiation* with the *new* King, was very much ſurpriz'd to ſee Letters ſeal'd with the Great Seal of the Inquiſition, and directed to the firſt Miniſter of *Spain*; and beginning to fear that his own Buſineſs was diſcover'd, and Notice of it hereby given to *Olivarez*, he open'd them, and found that they contain'd the Scheme of a Conſpiracy againſt the Royal Family, and which was ſpeedily to be put in Execution.

Startled at the Contents, he diſpatch'd a Courier to the Court of *Portugal*, with the intercepted Letters. It is impoſſible to expreſs the Surprize of the King, when he ſaw that three Princes, who were ſo nearly related to him, with the Archbiſhop, and ſeveral Grandees of the Kingdom, were contriving how to take away his Life, and give his Crown to a Stranger.

He immediately communicated their intended Treaſon to his Privy Council, who, after a ſmall Deliberation came to a Reſolution, which ſome few Days afterwards was executed. The fifth of *October* was the Day appointed by the Conſpirators, and the Time Eleven at Night. That very Morning, about Ten of the Clock, all the Soldiers who were quarter'd in the Neighbouring Villages, march'd into *Liſbon*, it having been given out that they were then to be review'd in the Court of the Palace. The King at the ſame

time gave Notes with his own Hand, to ſeveral Officers and others of his Court, which were ſeal'd up, with poſitive Orders not to open them 'till Twelve, and then punctually to execute the Contents.

A little before Noon, the Archbiſhop and the Marquis *de Villareal*, were ſent for to the Palace about ſome Buſineſs, and coming into the King's Apartment, were arreſted without the leaſt Noiſe, or any Body's knowing it; and at the ſame time one of the Captains of the Guard made the Duke *de Camino* a Priſoner. Thoſe who had receiv'd the ſeal'd Notes, having open'd them, found Orders to arreſt ſuch a Man, whom they ſhould convey to ſuch a Priſon, and not loſe Sight of him 'till farther Orders. In ſhort, Matters were manag'd ſo prudently, that in leſs than an Hour's time, the forty-ſeven Conſpirators were ſeiz'd, without ſo much as giving any one of them Time enough to eſcape, or even the leaſt Suſpicion that their Plot was diſcover'd.

The News of their intended Barbarity reaching the Ears of the People, they came flocking towards the Palace, and in a tumultuous Manner demanded the Priſoners, that they might tear them Piece-meal.

Tho' the King was well pleas'd with the Affection and Loyalty of his Subjects, yet was he a little troubled to ſee how eaſily they could be gather'd together, and what Miſchief they were at ſuch a Time able to do. Wherefore having thank'd them for the Care which they took of him, and having promis'd that the Traitors ſhould be puniſh'd according

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ing to Law, he order'd the Magiſtrates to diſperſe them.

But as he knew that the moſt violent Paſſions of an incens'd People will ſoon grow cool, and perhaps dwindle into Compaſſion, when they no longer ſhould conſider the Criminals as the worſt of Villains, who would have deſtroy'd their King and Country, but as unhappy Wretches, who muſt ſhortly ſuffer an ignominious Death; he took Care to publiſh, that the Conſpirators Intent was to aſſaſſinate him, and all the Royal Family, to ſet the whole Town on Fire, and thoſe who eſcaped the raging Flames, ſhould have fallen by the Sword of the Rebels: That *Spain* being reſolv'd to have nothing more to fear from the *Portugueſe*, would have ſent all their Citizens into *America*, to toil like Slaves, and be bury'd alive in thoſe Mines, where ſo many had already periſh'd, and to people the City of *Liſbon* with a Colony of *Caſtilians*.

After this, the King order'd the Traitors to be brought to their Trial, and to this End he appointed Judges, which he took out of the ſupreme Court of Judicature, and to whom he added two Grandees of the Kingdom, upon Account of the Archbiſhop of *Braga*, the Marquis *de Villareal*, and the Duke *de Camino*.

The King put their Letters, which they had ſent to *Olivarez*, into the Hands of thoſe who were appointed to proſecute them; but with Orders not to make uſe of them, if they could by any other Means prove them guilty of High Treaſon, leſt the Court of *Spain* ſhould

thereby diſcover the Correſpondence which he held with the Marquis *Daiamonti*: But there was no Neceſſity of producing them to diſcover the Truth; for *Baeze*, who was the firſt that was brought to the Bar, contradicted himſelf in almoſt every Queſtion which was aſk'd him, and being put to the Torture, his Courage fail'd him, he confeſs'd his Crime, and diſcover'd the whole Plan of the Conſpiracy. He own'd that their Deſign was to kill the King; that the Office of the Inquiſition was now full of Arms, and that they waited only for *Olivarez*'s Anſwer to execute their Deſign.

Moſt of the other Conſpirators were put to the Torture, and their Depoſition entirely agreed with *Baeze*'s. The Archbiſhop, the Grand Inquiſitor, the Marquis *de Villareal*, and the Duke *de Camino*, being unwilling to ſuffer the Torments of the Queſtion, confeſs'd their Crime. Theſe two laſt were condemn'd to be beheaded, the reſt of the Lay-Traytors to be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, and the Sentence of the Eccleſiaſticks was referr'd to the King himſelf. Upon this, the King immediately aſſembled his Council, and told them, that the Conſequence of putting ſo many Perſons of Quality to Death, altho' they were criminal, might be fatal: That the chief Conſpirators were of the firſt Families of the Kingdom, whoſe Relations would be for ever his conceal'd Enemies, and that the Deſire of revenging their Death, would be the unhappy Source of new Plots: That the Conſequence of the Death of Count

d'Egmont

d'Egmont in *Flanders*, and of the *Guiſes* in *France*, had prov'd fatal: That if he pardon'd ſome of them, and chang'd the Sentence of the others into a Puniſhment leſs ſevere than Death, he ſhould for ever win theirs, their Friends, and their Kindreds Hearts, and bind them to his Service by the Ties of Gratitude: but yet, That nowithſtanding he himſelf was inclined to Mercy, he had aſſembled his Council to know their Opinions, and to follow that which ſhould ſeem the moſt reaſonable, and the moſt juſt.

The Marquis *de Ferreira* was the firſt who ſpoke, and was for having them executed without delay: He repreſented, That in ſuch Caſes as theſe, Juſtice only ought to be conſulted, and that Mercy was moſt dangerous: That Pardon would ſeem not ſo much the Effect of the Goodneſs, as Weakneſs of the Prince, or the Fear of their threatning powerful Friends: That if theſe ſhould go unpuniſh'd, it would bring the Government into Contempt, and encourage their Relations to deliver them out of Priſon, or perhaps to carry Matters farther: That now, at his Acceſſion to the Crown, he ought, by an Example of Severity, to deter others from ever attempting the like. He urg'd farther, That they were Traitors not only to the King, but alſo to the State, whoſe preſent Conſtitution they had endeavour'd to ſubvert: That he ought rather to hearken to the Juſtice which he ow'd his People, and puniſh theſe Criminals, than to his own Inclinations

tions of forgiving them, eſpecially at a time when his Preſervation and the publick Safety were inſeparable.

The whole Council being of the ſame Opinion, the King yielded, and the next Day Sentence was executed. The Archbiſhop of *Liſbon* being willing to ſave one of his Friends, came to the Queen, and ſollicited her for a Pardon, with all the Aſſurance of a Man, who thought that nothing could be deny'd him, and that his former Services might claim a much greater Favour. But the Queen, who was convinc'd of the Juſtice and abſolute Neceſſity of their ſuffering the Law, and how much a Diſtinction of this Nature would incenſe the Friends and Relations of the reſt, anſwer'd the Archbiſhop in a few Words, but with ſuch a Tone, as made him ſee it would be in vain to urge his Requeſt any farther; "My Lord, the only Favour I can now "grant you, is to forget that you ever aſk'd "me this."

The King, unwilling to diſoblige the Clergy, and eſpecially the Court of *Rome*, who had not as yet acknowledg'd him King, or receiv'd his Ambaſſadors, would not ſuffer the Archbiſhop of *Braga*, or the Grand Inquiſitor, to be executed, but condemn'd them to a perpetual Impriſonment; where the Archbiſhop ſhortly after died of a violent Fever, a Diſeaſe often fatal to State-Priſoners, who for ſome politick Reaſon muſt not be led to open Execution.

Nothing

Nothing could be equal to the Surprize of *Olivarez*, when this News was brought him; he could not imagine by what means the King of *Portugal* had diſcovered their Deſign, nor would it ever have been known, had not an Accident happened, which made him ſee that it was the Marquis *Daiamonti* who had unravelled the dark Deſign, and acquainted the King with it.

This Prince ſtill kept a very good Correſpondence with the Enemies of *Spain*; his Ports were open to the Fleets of *France* and *Holland*; he had a Reſident at *Barcelona*, and encouraged the revolting *Catalonians*. In ſhort, he did all he could to weaken *Spain*, not only by increaſing the Rage of her Foes, but alſo by endeavouring to raiſe up new ones. To this end, he had already inclined the Duke *de Medina Sidonia*, his Brother-in-Law, to rebel; whom the Marquis *Daiamonti*, a *Caſtilian*, and their mutual Confident, at length entirely ſeduced. This Nobleman was, as has been before obſerved, nearly related to the Queen of *Portugal*, and the Duke of *Medina*: He was Governor of a Place at the Mouth of the *Guadiano*, juſt on the Frontiers of *Portugal*, which made it eaſy for him to keep a good Correſpondence with that Court; nor did he queſtion but that, by being ſerviceable to two ſuch powerful Families, he ſhould eaſily make his own Fortune. He was valiant and enterprizing; hated the Firſt Miniſter, and at the ſame time did not in the leaſt value his Life; a Quality very neceſſary to thoſe who embark themſelves in any dangerous Deſign.

He

He wrote privately to the Duke, to congratulate him upon the Diſcovery of the Archbiſhop's Plot, the Preſervation of the Life of the Queen his Siſter, and all the Royal Family; and he at the ſame time inſinuated to him, that it was perfectly conſiſtent with his Intereſt to be deſirous that the new King ſhould be in a Capacity to preſerve a Crown, which would one Day be tranſmitted to his own Nephews; and, that as *Portugal* lay contiguous to *Caſtile*, it would always afford him a ſure Retreat in any diſagreeable Seaſon, more eſpecially during the Miniſtry of the Duke *d'Olivarez*, whoſe abſolute and imperious Views tended very much to the Debaſement of the Grandees: Nor was it to be ſuppoſed, that the crafty Stateſman would long leave him Governor of ſo large a Province, and in the Neighbourhood of *Portugal:* That he would adviſe him ſeriouſly to reflect on all theſe Things, and let him know his Reſolutions; to which end he ſhould ſend him a Perſon in whom he could confide, and to whom they both might ſafely truſt their Secret.

The Duke was naturally proud and ambitious, and with Envy had beheld his Brother-in-law raiſing himſelf to the Throne; believing, by what the Marquis ſaid, that he had ſome very advantageous Propoſal of this kind to make him, he ſent *Lewis de Caſtile*, his Confident, to *Daiamonti*; who ſeeing his Credentials, at once opened his Mind, and bid him remember with what Eaſe the Duke of *Braganza* had made himſelf Maſter of the Crown of *Portugal*; and he aſſured him, that the

the Duke of *Medina* would never find a more favourable Conjuncture to eſtabliſh the Grandeur of his Houſe, and to make it independent of the Crown of *Spain*.

After this he repreſented the Weakneſs of that Kingdom, which was exhauſted by the Wars that the *French* and *Dutch* had continually waged againſt them: That *Catalonia* now employed all its Forces; nor would the King know how to help himſelf, ſhould *Andaluſia* riſe in Arms againſt him, and the War be thus carried into the very Heart of the Kingdom: That the People would certainly ſide with him, being always fond of a New Government; beſides which, they had Reaſon enough to complain of the Old one, which had ſo oppreſſed them with Taxes, and extorted ſuch vaſt Sums from them: That the Duke of *Medina* was as well beloved by the *Andaluſians*, as the Duke of *Braganza* was at the Time of the Revolution by the *Portugueſe*: That the only Thing which now remained to be done, was to gain all thoſe, who, under him, were Governors of Towns and Forts, without letting them into the Secret, which might be done; and to fill all Places of Truſt with his beſt Friends: That as ſoon as the Galleons, which were expected from the *Indies*, arrived, he ſhould ſeize them, and the Riches which were on board would defray the Expences of this Enterprize: That the King of *Portugal*, with his Allies, ſhould have a Fleet ready to enter *Cadiz*, and there land a ſufficient Number of Forces, to ſubdue thoſe who

who would unſeaſonably ſhew their Loyalty to *Spain*.

Lewis de Caſtile being returned to his Maſter, gave him a faithful Account of all that had paſſed between him and the Marquis. The Duke, dazzled with the Proſpect of a Crown, reſolved to hazard every thing, rather than fail of obtaining it. He was Chief Commander there, both by Sea and Land; being Captain General of the Ocean, and Governor of the Province, in which he alſo had a very large Eſtate, and ſeveral Towns under his own immediate Juriſdiction. This ſeemed very much to facilitate his Deſign, and made him believe, that it was in his Power to ſet a Crown on his Head whenever he pleaſed.

Upon this he ſent *Lewis de Caſtile* back to the Marquis, that they might agree together upon the propereſt Meaſures of accompliſhing their Project, and eſpecially of engaging the Crown of *Portugal* to lend them all the Aſſiſtance it poſſibly could. Mean while, He himſelf was diſpoſing every thing for the intended Revolution; he put his own Creatures into all thoſe Places where their Aſſiſtance would be moſt ſerviceable to him; he frequently would pity the Soldiers, who were not paid as they ought to be, and the People, who were overburdened with exceſſive Taxes.

The Marquis *Daiamonti* was well pleaſed to find the Duke in that Diſpoſition he had long wiſhed to ſee him; he wanted to acquaint the King of *Portugal* with it, but was unwil-

unwilling to truſt to Letters, and fear'd he could not ſend a Meſſenger ſo privately, but that the Court of *Spain* might diſcover it, and have juſt Cauſe to miſtruſt his Fidelity: However, at laſt he caſt his Eyes upon a crafty and intriguing Monk, who for Love of Money, or Hope of Preferment, would undertake any thing; he was call'd Father *Nicholas de Valaſco*, of the Order of *St. Francis*. No one could be fitter for his Purpoſe, ſince in the Countries where the Inquiſition is, this Habit is ſo much reſpected, that no one would dare to pry into his Actions, and obſerve his Steps.

As ſoon as he had receiv'd his Inſtructions, he came to *Caſtro-Marino*, the firſt Town on the Frontiers of *Portugal*, pretending to ranſom ſome *Caſtilian* Priſoners which were detain'd in *Portugal*. The King, who had notice given him of it, by a Letter from the Marquis *Daiamonti*, was deſir'd to ſeize him, and bring him to Court. This was accordingly done; he was arreſted as a Spy, loaded with Chains, and brought to *Liſbon* as a State-Criminal, whom the Miniſtry themſelves would examine; where he was immediately caſt into Priſon, and ſeemingly watch'd very ſtrictly: Some time after he was ſet at Liberty, ſince upon Examination it appear'd, that his only Intent was to ranſom ſome *Caſtilian* Priſoners; and partly, to make him amends for his former ill Uſage, he was permitted to come to Court, to treat with the proper Officer about it.

The

The King ſaw him himſelf ſeveral times, and promis'd him, that as a Reward of his Induſtry and faithful Service, he would give him a Biſhoprick. The Monk, flatter'd with the Hopes of the Mitre, would never ſtir from the Palace; he made his court to the Queen, and was always waiting upon the Miniſters: He wanted to be let into all the State-Intrigues, and did all he could to ſhew what Credit he had at Court; and thus, without directly revealing his Secret, he betray'd it by his Pride and Inconſiderateneſs. It plainly appear'd, that the Severity of his Priſon was only a Blind, and the Examination of the Miniſtry a Pretence to introduce him into Court. Many and various were the Conjectures which were made about his real Buſineſs there; but at laſt a *Caſtilian*, who was Priſoner at *Liſbon*, diſcover'd the whole Intrigue.

This *Caſtilian*, nam'd *Sancho*, was a Creature of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*'s, and, before the late Revolution, Pay-Maſter of the *Spaniſh* Army in *Portugal*. He, with the reſt of his Countrymen who were taken up at that Time, groan'd in Confinement, nor had they any Proſpect of Liberty; but hearing of this Monk, and being inform'd of his Country, his extravagant Conduct, his Credit at Court, and ſeveral other Circumſtances, which made it plain that he was there employ'd in ſome ſecret Buſineſs; he thought he had now an Opportunity of obtaining his Liberty, and with this Hope he wrote the Monk a long Letter, full of Expreſſions fit

to

to ſooth his Vanity; in it he complain'd, that the King of *Portugal* detain'd him in Priſon, (with the other *Caſtilians*,) who was a Servant and Creature of the Duke his Brother-in-law: And to confirm it, he ſent him ſeveral Letters, wrote to him by that Prince himſelf, ſome little Time before the Revolution, in which he treated him as one in whom he repos'd an entire Confidence.

The *Franciſcan* anſwer'd *Sancho*'s Letter, and aſſur'd him, that nothing could recommend him more to him, than his belonging to the Duke of *Medina*; that he would uſe all his Endeavour to procure him his Liberty; but in the mean Time he muſt take Care not ſo much as to open his Mouth about it. The *Spaniard* waited ſome Days for the Effect of his Promiſe, and at laſt ſent him a ſecond Epiſtle, in which he repreſented, that ſeven Months were expir'd ſince he was caſt into Priſon; that the *Spaniſh* Miniſter ſeem'd to have quite forgotten him, ſince he neither talk'd of ranſoming or exchanging him; and that therefore he had no Hopes of Liberty left, but what were built upon the Charity and Intereſt of the Reverend Father.

The Monk, who thought he ſhould very much oblige the Duke of *Medina*, by procuring *Sancho* his Freedom, begg'd it of the King, and obtain'd it. He went to the Priſon himſelf, to fetch him out of it, and offer'd to have him included in a Paſſport, which was to be given to ſome of the Dutcheſs of *Mantua*'s Servants, who were then returning to *Madrid*. But the crafty

Caſtilian anſwer'd him, that *Madrid* was a Place to which he could never more return; that he muſt not pretend to appear at Court, unleſs he deſir'd to be thrown into Priſon again, ſeeing that *Olivarez* was ſo ſevere and unjuſt, that he would expect his Accounts to be made up, although in the late Revolution he had been ſtript not only of his Money, but had *had* his Books alſo taken from him: To this he added, that he deſir'd nothing more than to be near the Duke of *Medina*, his Patron, who was both able and willing, he did not queſtion, to advance him.

The *Franciſcan* wanting ſome Body whom he could truſt his Secret to, and by whom he might give the Marquis *Daiamonti* a ſtrict Account of his Negotiation, caſt his Eyes upon the *Caſtilian*, who ſeem'd very much attach'd to the Intereſt of the Duke of *Medina*. To this End he detain'd the *Spaniard* ſome time, pretending that he could not as yet procure him a Paſſport, though his Intent was to obſerve him, and ſee whether or not he was a Perſon fit to be intruſted. Their being frequently together begat an intimate Acquaintance, which they both mutually deſir'd; the Monk, that he might engage the *Spaniard* to ſerve him; and the *Spaniard*, that he might make himſelf Maſter of the Monk's Secret.

This holy Man, like the reſt of his Brethren, puff'd up with Vanity, could not forbear one Day telling his Friend, that he would not long ſee him in that Garb in which he was, that he had a Biſhoprick pro-

promis'd him, and that he did not deſpair of obtaining the *Roman* Purple. *Sancho*, the more effectually to draw the Secret from him, pretended that he did not believe a Word of what he ſaid. The Fryar laugh'd at his Incredulity: And I ſuppoſe, *continued he*, you 'would not believe me neither, if I ſhould 'tell you, that the Duke of *Medina* will "ſhortly be a King." The other, to get the Secret quite out of him, urg'd the Impoſſibility of it; upon which the Monk told him the whole Story: That *Andaluſia* muſt in a little Time acknowledge the Duke for their Sovereign: That the Marquis *Daiamonti*, who had alſo diſcover'd the *Spaniſh* Plot to the King of *Portugal*, was the chief Negotiator and Inſtrument of this intended Revolution: That he ſhould ſhortly ſee ſtrange Alterations in *Spain*, and that he had now an Opportunity of making his Fortune only by being ſecret, and taking Care to deliver ſome Letters from him, to the Duke and Marquis.

Sancho well pleas'd at the Diſcovery of this Secret, which he had long labour'd to get out of him, renew'd his Proteſtations of Fidelity and Secrecy, and his Offers of Service; and having taken *Velaſco*'s Letters, told him, that he ſhould be proud of the Opportunity of ſerving the Prince, and hoped that he ſhould be thought worthy of the Honour of bringing him an Anſwer. Upon this the *Caſtilian* ſet out for *Andaluſia*, but was no ſooner got into the *Spaniſh* Territories, than he took the *Madrid* Road; and as ſoon as he

arriv'd, went ſtrait to the Miniſter's Houſe, and ſent him Word that *Sancho*, Pay-Maſter of the Army in *Portugal*, was juſt eſcap'd out of Priſon, where he had been confin'd by the Uſurper, and had ſome important Buſineſs to communicate to him.

It was a very hard Matter to gain Acceſs to *Olivarez*, who had his ſet Hours of granting Audience, and at which time he ſent Word the Pay-Maſter muſt return. Enrag'd at this Refuſal, *Sancho* cry'd he muſt, he would ſpeak to him; that his Buſineſs was no Trifle, but the Safety of the Kingdom depended on its being immediately reveal'd.

This being told *Olivarez*, he order'd him to be admitted: *Sancho* enter'd the Room, and threw himſelf at his Feet, crying the Kingdom was ſav'd from the Ruin which threaten'd it, ſince he had gain'd Admittance to one, in whoſe Power it was to prevent it; then told the whole Story of the Duke of *Medina*'s Intent, encourag'd in it by the King of *Portugal*, and perſuaded to it by the Marquis *Daiamonti*, his Deſign of ſeizing upon the Galleons, and of making the Soldiers of *Andaluſia* turn their Arms againſt their King: To juſtify all which, he deliver'd thoſe Letters given him by the *Franciſcan* for the Duke and Marquis, and which contain'd the Scheme of the Conſpiracy.

Olivarez was ſo ſurpriz'd at the Strangeneſs of this News, that he could not for ſome Time utter a Word, but at laſt recovering himſelf, he prais'd *Sancho* for his Loyalty, and

and told him that he deſerv'd a double Reward, not only as he had reveal'd the Plot, but alſo as he had not been afraid to diſcover it even to the neareſt Relation of the chief Conſpirator. Then order'd he the *Spaniard* to be conducted into a private Apartment, and be debarr'd the Liberty of ſpeaking to any one.

Mean while the Miniſter went into the King's Apartment, and told him all that *Sancho* had related, and ſhew'd him the Letters which he had deliver'd him.

Never was Prince in a greater Conſternation than *Philip* was; long had he obſerv'd and dreaded the haughty Carriage of the *Guſmans*; and as the Loſs of *Portugal*, which he thought was owing to the Dutcheſs of *Braganza*, was ſtill freſh in his Memory, he could not forbear telling *Olivarez* in a reproachful manner, that all the Misfortunes which the *Spaniards* had lately ſuffer'd, they were beholden to his Family for. This Prince wanted neither Wit or Judgment, but he was ſo addicted to Pleaſure, that he would never apply himſelf to any thing that carry'd the Face of Buſineſs, but would rather have loſt Half his Dominions, than be oblig'd to quit his indolent and effeminate Manner of Living: Wherefore, having vented his Paſſion in this Reproach, he gave the *Franciſcan*'s Letters back to *Olivarez*, without ſo much as opening them; ordering him to have them examin'd by a Committee, compos'd of three Members of his Privy-Council, who ſhould make their Report to him.

This was all that *Olivarez* deſir'd, for now he could give the Buſineſs what Turn he pleas'd. He choſe three of his own Creatures for the Commiſſioners, into whoſe Hands the Letters were put, and by whom *Sancho* was examin'd ſeveral times; all their Aim was to acquit the Duke of *Medina*, to which end *Olivarez* himſelf came to *Sancho*, and affecting an affable Behaviour, and an extraordinary Kindneſs for the Man: "How, my "dear *Sancho*, *ſaid he*, ſhall we contrive to "acquit the Duke of *Medina* of a Crime, "which is teſtify'd only by the Letters of an "unknown Monk, and who probably was "bribed by the Duke's Enemies to lay this "to his Charge; for certain it is, that never "Governor of *Andaluſia* diſcharg'd his Du-"ty better, both towards the King and his "Province."

Sancho, who was fully perſuaded of the Truth of his Depoſition, and fear'd that any of the Criminals ſhould be acquitted, leſt he ſhould loſe his hoped-for Reward, ſtill maintain'd, that he was well aſſur'd that there was an horrid Conſpiracy form'd againſt the Government in Favour of the Duke, who was alſo at the Head of it; that the Marquis *Daiamonti* was the Contriver of the Plot; and that he himſelf had read ſeveral of their Letters, which were ſhewn him by the *Franciſcan*, and was certain, that if *Olivarez* did not prevent it in time, all *Andaluſia* would be up in Arms, to make their Governor their Monarch.

Olivarez

Olivarez, very unwilling that this Buſineſs ſhould be too narrowly ſearch'd into, took an Opportunity of telling the King, that the Monk's Letters had been decypher'd and examin'd, and that he really believ'd him to be ſome Wretch who had been bribed to calumniate the Duke; for there was no Letter of his produc'd, nor did *Sancho* make any formal Depoſition againſt him. However, as it was impoſſible to be too cautious in ſuch a Caſe as this, his Opinion was, that the Duke muſt be artfully drawn to Court, for if he had any ſuch Deſign on foot, it was not ſafe to arreſt him in *Andaluſia*; that ſome Forces muſt be ſent to *Cadiz* under a new Governor; that the Marquis *Daiamonti* muſt be taken up at the ſame time, and if they were found guilty, his Majeſty might deliver them over to the Severity of the Law.

This haughty Miniſter's Will was not only generally a Law to the Subjects of *Spain*, but was always one to the King; who told him, that he ſhould manage this Buſineſs as he thought fit, for he left it entirely to him. Upon this *Olivarez* ſent his Nephew, Don *Lewis d'Haro*, to the Duke of *Medina*, to tell him what had been depos'd againſt him, and with Orders, that guilty or not guilty, he ſhould immediately come to Court, which if he did, his Pardon ſhould be granted; but that if he deferr'd his Journey, it would no longer be in his Power to procure it.

This Meſſage thunder-ſtruck the Duke of *Medina*, and he ſaw himſelf under a Neceſſity of obeying, or immediately flying into *Portugal*: But then conſidering how ignominious it was to ſpend his Days in Indolence, and live a baniſh'd Man, eſpecially in a Country where there was no Employment worthy of him, and at the ſame time knowing how great *Olivarez*'s Power was, he reſolv'd to truſt him; and ſet out for *Madrid*, and with ſuch Diligence did he purſue his Journey, that the King was immediately inclin'd to believe him innocent, or to forgive him, ſhould he be found guilty.

Whilſt Don *Lewis d'Haro* was employ'd in this Buſineſs, a Meſſenger was ſent to take up the Marquis *Daiamonti*; and the Duke of *Ciudadreal* march'd into *Cadiz* at the Head of Five thouſand Men.

As ſoon as the Duke of *Medina* arriv'd at *Madrid*, he went and alighted at *Olivarez*'s Houſe, to whom he confeſs'd the Conſpiracy, ſhew'd him the Scheme by which they were to proceed, but caſt all the Odium of it upon the Marquis. *Olivarez* that Inſtant introduc'd him into the King's Cloſet, where he threw himſelf at his Majeſty's Feet, and with Tears confeſs'd his Crime, and begg'd his Pardon. *Philip*, who was of a ſoft and compaſſionate Nature, mix'd his Tears with the Duke's, and eaſily forgave him. But as it would have been very imprudent to have expoſed him to the ſame Temptation a ſecond time, he was order'd to ſtay at Court:

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Part of his Eſtate was alſo confiſcated, the King being ſenſible, that had he not been too rich, and too powerful, he would never have made an Attempt of this kind: And a Governor and a Garriſon were plac'd in *Saint Lucar de Barameda*, the Town in which the Dukes of *Medina Sidonia* generally reſided.

Olivarez, to perſuade the King that his Relation's Repentance was ſincere, adviſed him to ſend a formal Challenge to the Duke of *Braganza*; which he refuſed at firſt, objecting that both Divine and Human Laws forbad Duels. But *Olivarez* perſiſting in his Reſolution of having one ſent, *Medina* reply'd, that he could not in Conſcience come to this Extremity with his Brother-in-law, unleſs the King would obtain a Bull from the Pope, which ſhould ſecure him from the Cenſure of the Church, which always excommunicated Dueliſts.

Olivarez anſwer'd him, that this was not a time for Scruples of Conſcience, but that he muſt now think of ſatisfying both the King and People of the Sincerity of his Repentance; that, in ſhort, it was no Matter whether he would fight or not, provided he would not diſown a Challenge, which he would publiſh in his Name. The Duke, who now plainly ſaw that *Olivarez*'s Intent was only to amuſe the People, conſented to it, and the Miniſter drew up one himſelf. Several of them were ſent into *Portugal*, as well as into moſt Courts of *Europe*. A Copy of it may probably not be diſpleaſing to the Reader,

Reader, who will be ſurpriz'd to ſee a Challenge, which by its Length, Formality, and Stile, would better have became a Knight-Errant of old, than ſuch a Prince as the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* was.

Don

Don GASPAR ALONCO PEREZ *de* GUSMAN, *Duke of* Medina Sidonia, *Marquis, Earl and Baron of* St. Lucar de Barameda, *Captain-General of the Ocean, of the Coaſts of* Andaluſia, *and of the Armies of* Portugal, *Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his Catholick Majeſty*;

Whom GOD *preſerve.*

WHEREAS nothing has been more conſpicuous to the whole World, than the treaſonable Practices of *John* late Duke of *Braganza*; Be alſo his damnable Intentions known, of

of ſeducing and tainting with Diſloyalty, the faithful Family of the *Guſmans*, which ever has been, and for the future ever ſhall be moſt true and loyal to the King their Maſter, in whoſe Service ſo many of them have ſhed their Blood. This *Uſurper* has endeavour'd to inſinuate into the Minds of foreign Princes, as well as of his own Rebel *Portugueſe*, that I would aid and aſſiſt him, and enter into his Meaſures; hoping thereby to keep up the Spirits of thoſe who have join'd with him, and to put me out of Favour with the King my Maſter, (whom God preſerve) thinking that by theſe Means he ſhould alienate my Duty and Affection from my Maſter, and then I ſhould conſent to his curſed Deſigns without that Repugnance which he has found in me. And the better to accompliſh his Deſign, he has made uſe of a Monk, who was

ſent

ſent by the Town of *Daiamonti*, to *Caſtro-Marino* in *Portugal*, to treat about the Ranſom of a Priſoner: Which Monk being carry'd to *Liſbon*, was ſuborn'd, and perſuaded to give out, that I was engaged in the Conſpiracy, and that I would permit any Foreign Army to land in *Andaluſia*, to favour their Deſigns: And to give the better Colour to his Story, he ſhew'd ſome forged Letters, and which he pretended to have received from me.

All this was done with a Deſign to perſuade ſeveral Princes to ſend him ſome Forces, and would to God they had, that I might have ſhewn my Loyalty, by deſtroying them, and their Ships; which will eaſily appear to have been my Intent, by the Orders which I left on all the Coaſts.

Theſe

Theſe Things have been a ſore Affliction to me; but what grieves me ſtill more, is, that his Wife ſhould be my Siſter, whoſe Blood I would gladly ſhed, ſince by Rebellion tainted and corrupted, that I might give an evident Proof of my Loyalty to my King, and efface all thoſe Suſpicions, which theſe Rumours may have imprinted in the Minds of the People.

For theſe Reaſons therefore, I challenge the ſaid *John*, late Duke of *Braganza*, as being a Traitor both to God and his King, and invite him to meet me in Perſon, and in ſingle Combat try our Fortune, with, or without Seconds, and arm'd in what manner he pleaſes. The Place ſhall be near *Valentia d'Alcantra*, which is on the Frontiers both of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, and where I will wait for him

him fourſcore Days, from the firſt of *October*, to the nineteenth of *December*, of this preſent Year. 1641. The twenty laſt Days I will wait for him in Perſon, and on the Time which he ſhall appoint, I will enter the Liſts; which Time, though it be long, I give him, not only that he, the ſaid Tyrant, but alſo that all *Europe*, nay, that the whole World may know it. To this end, I will ſend Ten Chevaliers a League within *Portugal*; as alſo, he ſhall ſend Ten a League within *Caſtile*, as Hoſtages, and on that Day I will ſhew him the Heinouſneſs and Baſeneſs of his Crime.

But if he, the ſaid *John*, late Duke of *Braganza*, ſhould fail meeting me, to give me Gentleman-like Satisfaction, and thereby deprive me of the Opportunity of ſhewing my Loyalty to the King, my Maſter, and the natural Hatred which

which our Family has to Traitors; I offer (with Submiſſion to his Catholick Majeſty, whom God preſerve) my good Town of *St. Lucar de Barameda*, which always has been the Seat of the Dukes of *Medina Sidonia*, to any Man who ſhall kill him. To which end, I beg of his Catholick Majeſty, that I may not have any longer the Command of the Army, which is to march againſt him, being ſo tranſported with Rage, that I ſhould not be Maſter of that Sedateneſs and Conduct, which are ſo neceſſary to a General; but that his Majeſty would give me Leave to be only at the Head of a Thouſand of my own People, on whoſe Courage, as well as my own, I may rely, that in caſe the ſaid *Uſurper* ſhould not accept my Challenge, we may bring him dead or alive to his ſaid Majeſty. And that I may not be thought to be wanting in my Duty to my King,

I offer

I offer one of my beſt Towns to the firſt Governor, or other Officer, belonging to the *Uſurper*, who will ſurrender any Place to the King my Maſter; never thinking that I can do enough for his Service, ſince to him, and to his glorious Anceſtors, I owe all that I enjoy.

Given at Toledo, *the* 29*th of* September, 1641.

ACCORDING to his Promiſe, the Duke of *Medina* appear'd in the Liſts, follow'd by Don *John de Garray*, Lieutenant-General of the *Spaniſh* Cavalry; there the Duke of *Braganza* was ſummon'd in a formal Manner: But that Prince was too prudent to play a Part in this Farce; or had the Thing been of a more ſerious Nature, a Sovereign Prince was not to venture his Life againſt a Subject of his Enemy.

Whilſt *Olivarez* amus'd the People in this Manner, he was alſo taking Care to turn the Reſentment of the King and People upon the Marquis *Daiamonti*, whom he intended to prove the only guilty Perſon: To this End, he flatter'd him with the Hopes of a Pardon, and that, as well as the Duke of *Medina*, he ſhould taſte the Bounties of a merciful Prince, provided he would be open in his Confeſſion; but that Kings, like God, whoſe Images they were, never forgave any, but thoſe who heartily and ſincerely repented them of their Crimes.

The Marquis truſting to this Promiſe, which the Duke of *Medina*'s Example gave him no Room to doubt of, ſign'd a Paper which *d'Olivarez* brought him, and which he immediately put into the Hands of thoſe who were to try him. Upon this Confeſſion of his, he was indicted, and condemn'd to be beheaded. When the Judge paſs'd Sentence, he

he heard it without the leaſt Concern, or ſo much as murmuring at *Olivarez*, or the Duke. That ſame Night he ſupp'd as heartily as uſual, and when they came to lead him to Execution the next Morning, he was ſtill aſleep. He walked to the Place of Execution and aſcended the Scaffold, without ſpeaking one Word, whilſt a Contempt of Death might be read in his Looks, and died with a Courage and Reſolution worthy of a better Cauſe. Such was the End of a Conſpiracy, from which the King of *Spain* eſcaped merely by Accident, or rather by a Decree of Providence, which cannot connive at Crimes of this Nature, and will ſeldom ſuffer Treachery to prevail.

The King of *Portugal* ſeeing this Project miſcarry, reſolv'd to maintain himſelf on the Throne no longer by ſuch clandeſtine Means, but by open Force, and the Aſſiſtance of his Allies. *France* ſeem'd particularly to take the Houſe of *Braganza* under its Protection, as being the moſt antient Branch of their own Royal Family.

The foreign War ſo employ'd the *Spaniſh* Forces, that the *Portugueſe* had always the Advantage over them, and they drove them ſtill farther from their Frontiers. The King might eaſily at that time have enter'd into the very Center of *Caſtile*, had he had a good General, and diſciplin'd Soldiers; but his Army was chiefly compos'd of Militia, fitter to made ſudden Incurſions into the Enemy's Country, than to bear the Fatigue of a regular Campaign. Another thing that hin-

der'd his making a greater Progreſs with his Army, was, that he had not Money enough to pay them, and conſequently not Forces enough on Foot; for as at his coming to the Crown, he had taken off all Taxes from the People, that they might the better reliſh his Government, and had only his own Eſtate to defray the Expences of the War; nor would he ever venture to lay new Taxes upon them. But this Want of his was partly recompens'd by the Neceſſity of *Spain*, who at that time had no better Generals than the *Portugueſe*, and whoſe Treaſures, towards the latter End of *Philip* the Fourth's Reign, were exhauſted.

On the ſixth of *November*, 1656, died this Prince: In all the Encomiums and Panegyricks made upon him by the *Portugueſe*, he is celebrated for his Piety and Moderation. Foreign Hiſtorians upbraid him with Cowardice, and report, that he always diſtruſted both himſelf and others; that it was a difficult Point, eſpecially for the Grandees, to get Acceſs to him; and that he was free with no one but his antient domeſtick Servants, eſpecially with one that was always in Company with his Confeſſor. In ſhort, from what we can gather of his Life, he was a peaceable and religious Prince, and endow'd with Qualities which would better have became a private Gentleman than a Monarch; ſo that we can attribute his being rais'd to the Throne, only to the inveterate Hate which the *Portugueſe* bore the *Caſtilians*, and to the Ambition, Courage, and Counſels of his Queen, whom by his laſt Will he nam'd

nam'd Regent of the Kingdom during his Son's Minority; not doubting but that one who could raiſe herſelf to a Throne, would not want Courage to preſerve it for her Children. He left behind him two Sons and a Daughter; the elder of the Sons was Don *Alphonſo*, of a peeviſh and melancholy Temper, who had quite loſt the Uſe of one Side, and was at the Time of his Father's Death near thirteen Years old: Don *Pedro*, the younger, was but eight: Donna *Catharina*, their Siſter, was older than either of them, and was born before the Revolution.

Don *Alphonſo* was immediately ſhewn to the People, and proclaim'd King, and the Queen took the Regency upon her. This Princeſs would willingly have ſignaliz'd herſelf by ſome glorious Action, but the Commanders of the *Portugueſe* Army were fitter for Soldiers than Generals, and there was not an Officer amongſt them, who was Engineer enough to know how to fortify a Place, or beſiege a Town. Nor was there a Man in the Privy Council, who could be look'd upon as a Stateſman; moſt of them could indeed make fine Speeches, and elaborate Diſcourſes, upon the Neceſſities of the State, and the Misfortunes in which it would probably fall; but never a one of them knew how to prevent, or remedy them.

TO theſe Evils we muſt attribute the ill Succeſs of her Arms before *Olivenza* and *Badajos*, where the *Spaniards* obliged them to

raiſe the Siege. Beſides this, they had fallen out with the *Dutch* about the Trade to the *Indies*; and the *French*, after the *Pyrenean* Treaty, ſeem'd to have forgotten them.

The Queen finding herſelf without any regular Troops, without able Officers or good Counſellors, and without foreign Alliances, was obliged by her Courage, Capacity, and Application, to ſupply the Want of all theſe; ſhe herſelf diſcharg'd the Duty of a Secretary of State, and took Care to keep a good Correſpondence with all the Courts of *Europe*, which might be ſerviceable to her: In ſhort, had ſhe never encounter'd all theſe Difficulties, ſhe could not have reveal'd all thoſe *hidden Virtues, which ſhun the Day, and lie conceal'd in the ſmooth Seaſons, and the Calms of Life.*

By ſuch Care and Diligence, for a long time ſhe ſav'd *Portugal* from that Ruin which threaten'd it; but *Spain* now pouring all its Forces in upon her, ſhe found herſelf unable to reſiſt them, unleſs ſhe could procure better Officers. To this End, ſhe caſt her Eyes upon *Frederick* Count of *Schomberg*, whoſe Name and Valour were already ſufficiently known. She would willingly have given him the chief Command of the Army, but was afraid at this Juncture of diſobliging her Generaliſſimo; wherefore ſhe order'd the Count *de Soure*, her Ambaſſador in *France*, to treat with the Count *de Schomberg* about his coming into *Portugal*, where he ſhould have only the Title of Lieutenant-General; but in caſe of the Death, or Reſignation of the preſent Commander,

mander, he ſhould be made Generaliſſimo of all her Forces.

The Count ſet out for *Liſbon* with four-ſcore Officers, and about four hundred Horſemen, all Veterans, who perfectly underſtood the Diſcipline of an Army, and would upon Occaſion make good Leaders.

Before the Count went into *Portugal*, he made a Voyage into *England*, where he ſaw King *Charles* the Second, who was lately reſtor'd: He had private Orders from the Regent, to endeavour to diſcover whether King *Charles* might be brought to marry the Infanta of *Portugal*. The Count negotiated this Buſineſs with ſo much Addreſs, that he made both the King and Chancellor *Hyde* deſirous of this Alliance. The Queen, extremely ſatisfy'd with what he had done, deſir'd him to haſten into *Portugal*, and ſent the Marquis *de Sande* to conclude the Buſineſs.

But the King of *Spain*, foreſeeing what might be the Conſequence of this Match, did all he could to prevent it; he offer'd to give any Proteſtant Princeſs Three Millions for her Portion, provided the King would marry her; and by his Ambaſſador propos'd the Princeſſes of *Denmark*, *Saxony*, or *Orange*. But the Chancellor repreſented to the King, how nearly it concern'd him to maintain the Houſe of *Braganza* on the Throne, and not let *Philip* become Maſter of all *Spain*, and the *Indies*. His Speech produc'd the deſir'd Effect, and King *Charles* married the Infanta. Thus did a Proteſtant Stateſman perſuade

his Sovereign to marry a Catholick Princeſs, whilſt a Prince of the *Roman* Communion, who valued himſelf in a particular Manner upon the Title of the Moſt Catholick King, offer'd him vaſt Sums of Money, to engage him to wed a Proteſtant.

Shortly after King *Charles*, by his Mediation, eſtabliſh'd a Treaty of Commerce between the States of *Holland* and the Crown of *Portugal*; after which, he ſent a conſiderable Number of Troops into that Kingdom, commanded by the Earl of *Inchequin*; but having recall'd him, he order'd that the Forces ſhould ſtay under the Command of *Schomberg*; ſo that the Count ſhortly ſaw himſelf at the Head of the choſen Forces of Three Kingdoms. Not but that there was a *Portugueſe* Generaliſſimo, or at leaſt one who had the Title, but the Count had all the Authority which he made uſe of to eſtabliſh an exact and regular Diſcipline amongſt the *Portugueſe*: He taught them the Order of marching, encamping, beſieging, and regularly fortifying a Town; ſo that all thoſe Places on the Frontiers of the Kingdom, which were before naked and defenceleſs, ſoon became capable of making a vigorous Defence.

The Regent Queen, proud of having met with ſuch a General, carry'd the War vigorouſly on, and her Arms were almoſt every where crown'd with Succeſs: Never were the *Portugueſe* Forces better diſciplin'd, the People bleſs'd her Government, the Grandees continu'd in perfect Submiſſion to it through Fear and Reſpect: But though Fortune favour'd

vour'd her abroad, ſhe met with domeſtick Cares and Troubles, which chang'd the Face of every thing.

Whilſt the Regent was taking care to place the Crown with Surety on her Son's Head, he, on the other hand, endeavour'd to make himſelf unworthy of it, by his irregular Manner of Living; he was mean-ſpirited, melancholy, and cruel, could not bear the Authority of his Mother, and deſpis'd the Advices of his Governors and Miniſters; he always refuſed the Company of the Lords of his Houſhold, and would divert himſelf with none but Negroes, Mulattoes, and all the Scum of the *Liſbonite* Youth: and, ſpite of the Care of his Governors, he had got a little Court compoſed of ſuch like People, whom he call'd his Bravoes, with whom he us'd to ſcour the Streets at Night, and inſult all thoſe who unfortunately fell into his way.

This Diſorder of Mind had been firſt caus'd by a Palſy, which had afflicted him when about four Years of Age, and which had made fatal Impreſſions not only on his Limbs, but alſo on his Brain. Whilſt he was young, his Faults had been wink'd at by his Tutors, who thought that ſo infirm a Child could never bear the Fatigues of a ſevere Education, and hoped that Time would both ſtrengthen his Body, and ſweeten his Temper: but this Indulgence ruin'd him. 'Tis true, that by the Aſſiſtance of Remedies, and Help of Time, his Conſtitution grew ſtronger, he could fence, ride, and bear any Fatigue; but his Temper

Temper never became better. His Paſſions increaſing with his Age, they ſoon prevail'd over his Reaſon, which was but weak, and he gave a Looſe to Licentiouſneſs and Debauchery. He would bring common Proſtitutes into the Palace, fetch them himſelf from the Stews, and very often ſpend whole Nights amongſt them there.

The Queen, overwhelm'd with Grief, and fearing that the Irregularity of her Son would at once deſtroy the Labours of her whole Life, reſolv'd ſeveral times within herſelf to have him confin'd, and make his Brother reign in his Stead; but dreading to excite a Civil War, which would have favour'd the *Spaniſh* Arms, ſhe dropp'd the bold Deſign: Sometimes ſhe hoped the King might yet be reclaimed, eſpecially if he was depriv'd of the Company of *Conti*, a Merchant's Son, his firſt Favourite, and Companion of all his Debaucheries. To this end ſhe had *Conti* privately ſeiz'd, and carried on board a Ship which was bound for *Brazil*, with Orders that he ſhould never return to *Portugal* on pain of Death.

The King at firſt ſeem'd very much griev'd at the Loſs of his Favourite, but comforting himſelf by little and little, he was at laſt pacified, and ſeem'd very much alter'd for the better, would hearken to Advice, and paid the Queen an unuſual Reſpect, who was congratulated by the Miniſtry and the whole Court, upon the extraordinary Succeſs of her Enterprize.

But

But this apparent Tranquility and Alteration of the King's, was only a Veil to cover a deep Deſign, and of which his Mother never thought him capable; ſo that this Princeſs, who could read in the very Hearts of the moſt diſſembling Courtiers, was over-reach'd by a half-witted Youth.

The King had complain'd of *Conti*'s Baniſhment to the Count *de Caſtel-Melhor*, a *Portugueſe* Nobleman, of an illuſtrious Birth, ſubtle and inſinuating, but fitter to manage a Court-Intrigue, than a Buſineſs of Importance. The Count thought that a fair Opportunity offer'd of ſupplying *Conti*'s Place in the King's Favour; wherefore to ingratiate himſelf, he deplor'd the Exile's Misfortune, and promiſed to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to have him recall'd. He told the Prince at the ſame time, that it was in his own Power to remedy this, or any Grievance of the like Nature; that he was of Age, and had been ſo a great while; that he might as ſoon as he pleaſed take the Supreme Command upon himſelf, then recall *Conti*, and let him triumph over the Queen, and all his other Enemies.

The King was pleaſed with this Advice, and determin'd to follow it; the Count was his ſole Confident and Favourite: However, he deſir'd the King that their Intimacy ſhould ſtill be a Secret, that the Queen might not ſuſpect him. But it could not be long conceal'd from this Princeſs, who meeting him one Day in the King's Train, caught him by the Arm, and ſtaring him in the Face with

with that Majeſtick Air, which made every one tremble; "I am inform'd, Count, *ſaid* "*ſhe*, that the King is wholly govern'd by "your Counſels; take therefore good Care of "him, for if he does any thing to thwart "me, your Life ſhall anſwer it.".

The Count, without anſwering, made a ſubmiſſive Bow, and follow'd the King, who call'd him; as ſoon as he was alone with him, he gave him an Account of what the Queen had ſaid: "I ſuppoſe, *continued he*, that I "ſhall ſhortly ſhare *Conti*'s Fate, but yet with "Joy ſhould I go to Baniſhment, could I at "the ſame time ſee my King ſhake off the "Authority of an imperious Mother, who "will let him enjoy the Title, but never the "Power of a Sovereign."

This artful Diſcourſe threw the Prince into a violent Paſſion, and he would go immediately and take the Royal Authority from the Queen, by taking the Great Seal, which is the Mark of it; but the Count, who knew too well what the Conſequence of this would be, adviſed him to retire to *Alcantra*, and from thence to ſend Couriers to the Magiſtrates of *Liſbon*, and to all the Governors of Provinces, to let them know that he was of Age, and had taken the Government upon himſelf.

The King approved the Counſel, and having that Evening diſguiſed himſelf, he left the Palace, follow'd only by the Count and a few Friends. That Night they arriv'd at *Alcantra*, from whence he ſent Orders to the Secretaries of State, and to the *German* Guard,

Guard, to come to him; and at the ſame time diſpatch'd Couriers to every Town of *Portugal*, to let them know that he was of Age, and by conſequence the Regency of the Queen at an end.

Moſt of the Court ſet out for *Alcantra*, and the Queen ſaw herſelf in a manner forſaken; notwithſtanding which, ſhe reſolved to lay down her Authority as became her; wherefore ſhe wrote to the King, to aſk him the Reaſon why he took Poſſeſſion of the Throne like an Uſurper, that had no Right to it; and added, that if he would return to *Liſbon*, ſhe would lay down her Authority in Preſence of the Grandees and the Magiſtrates. The King accordingly return'd, and the Queen having ſummoned the Grandees, Magiſtrates, and others of the Nobility, to attend her, in Preſence of the Aſſembly took the Seals out of the Great Purſe, and putting them into her Son's Hand: "Here are, "*ſaid ſhe*, the Seals, which, together with "the Regency, were entruſted to my Care "by the Will of my late Sovereign Lord: "I return them to your Majeſty with all the "Authority, which they are the Emblems "of: I heartily pray God that you may "make a good Uſe of them, and that your "Reign may be as proſperous as I can wiſh "it." The King took the Seals, and gave them to the firſt Secretary of State; after which the Prince, and all the Grandees, kiſſed his Hand, and acknowledged him their Sovereign.

The

The Queen Dowager had given out, that ſhe intended in ſix Months time to retire into a Convent; but that ſix Months ſhe would ſpend at Court, to ſee what Meaſures the young King would take. But the Favourite Count, who ſtill dreaded that Princeſs, who knew her tow'ring Genius, and was ſenſible of the natural Sway which a Mother has over the Mind of her Son, perſuaded the King to treat her moſt inhumanly, that by frequent Affronts he might oblige her to leave the Court much ſooner than ſhe intended. The Queen, who was of a haughty Temper, could not bear to be thus us'd, but immediately threw herſelf into a Convent; where being fully ſatisfied of the Vanities of human Greatneſs, ſhe ſpent the Remainder of her Time, which was ſcarce a Year, in preparing herſelf for another World, and died on the eighteenth of *February*, 1666. lamented by the whole Nation: For never was there a Princeſs of a more extraordinary Genius, or more amply endow'd with all the Virtues requiſite to either the one or the other Sex. Whilſt on the Throne, ſhe ſhew'd a truly great and heroick Soul; when ſhe quitted it for a religious Life, ſhe ſeem'd entirely to have forgotten what Pomp and Grandeur were, and all her Ambition then was to deſerve Heaven.

The King, who now ſaw himſelf fully at Liberty, and no longer fear'd the prudent Queen's juſt Reproofs, gave a looſe to his Paſſions, and indulg'd his pernicious Inclinations. He would ſcour the Streets at Night with

with his Bravoes, and abuſe every one he met with; nor did the Watch fare better than their Neighbours. Never a Night did he ramble, but the next Morning tragical Hiſtories were publiſhed, of ſeveral who had been wounded or murder'd in the Streets; and People fled before him with greater Fear than they would before a hungry Lion, juſt broke looſe from his Den.

The Count *de Caſtel Melhor* was his firſt Miniſter; he was an intriguing, inſinuating Courtier, but far from being an able Stateſman: haughty in Proſperity, fawning and timorous in Adverſity. In his Hands were the Reins of the Government, the King reſerving no Authority to himſelf, but that of doing what Miſchief he pleaſed unpuniſhed; nor did the Count ever make it his Buſineſs to reclaim him, well knowing that the King's Follies and his Authority were inſeparable.

The *Spaniards* flattered themſelves with the Hopes of eaſily reducing *Portugal*, whilſt it had ſuch a Monarch as Don *Alphonſo*. To this end they ſent a ſtrong Army againſt it, under the Command of Don *John* of *Auſtria*, natural Son to *Philip* the IVth. The King of *Portugal* ſent *Schomberg* to oppoſe him, notwithſtanding the Count *de Villa-Flor* had the Title of Generaliſſimo. And to the Count of *Schomberg*'s Courage and Conduct it was that Don *Alphonſo* ow'd the Preſervation of his Crown: He beat the *Spaniards* ſeveral times, notwithſtanding what *Villa-Flor* did; who, jealous of his Glory, endeavour'd all he could

to

to croſs his Meaſures, and had effectually done it, had not *Schomberg*'s Intereſt been greater both at Court and in the Army, which joyfully obey'd the Commands of their brave Leader, who always led them to a certain Victory.

Caſtel-Melhor did all he could to perſuade the People, that this happy Succeſs was owing to him; though, if the Truth had been ſearch'd into, it would have appear'd that all he could juſtly boaſt of, was his being the firſt Man to whom the News was ſent. By theſe Means the Miniſter's Credit increas'd, and he actually enjoy'd the Sovereign Authority. The King was nothing but a Piece of Clock-work, whoſe Springs he could wind up, and put into what Motion he pleaſed. The Barbarity of his Temper he made uſe of, to ruin and deſtroy all thoſe of whom he was jealous; amongſt theſe were the greateſt Part of the late Queen's Miniſtry: ſo that there was a ſtrange Alteration at Court; all Places were filled with the Count's Creatures; nor could any one hope for Favour, but thoſe who took care to pleaſe the Favourite. *Melhor* went farther than this, for *Conti* being recalled, he got him baniſhed a ſecond time; for no ſooner was he landed, but the King ſent him an Expreſs, to congratulate him upon his ſafe Arrival, and *Melhor*, by the ſame Expreſs, ſent him Orders not to come near the Court. Such a Sway had this Miniſter over his Sovereign, that he durſt not contradict his Orders; but, for fear of diſpleaſing him, was obliged to ſee

Conti

Conti in private. The Count had Notice of it, and fearing that ſhould their antient Intimacy be renew'd, there would be no Place left for him in the King's Favour, had him accuſed of a Deſign upon the Prince's Life; and tho' there were no Witneſſes found, no Proofs, no Probabilities of his Guilt, yet Sentence of Baniſhment was paſſed upon him.

The Count, no longer apprehenſive of *Conti*, began to conſider how he ſhould ſecure his Intereſt at Court, in caſe of any Accident. To this End he endeavour'd to ingratiate himſelf with Don *Pedro*, the King's Brother, but a Prince of a quite different Character: His Soul was truly great, and his Inclinations noble; his Actions princely, and his manner of Living regular: the *Portugueſe* admir'd, or rather ador'd him, for he had not his own Virtues only, but his Brother's Vices alſo, to ſet him off.

To this End, *Melhor* placed a Brother of his in the Prince's Houſhold, and bad him do all he could to inſinuate himſelf into his Maſter's Favour, as he had into the King's; hoping by theſe Means to govern both the Princes.

Don *Pedro* us'd him with all the Civility imaginable, and ſhew'd him more than common Reſpect; but as for giving him any Place in his Favour, or Confidence, he could not; the whole was taken up. The late Queen having always look'd upon her younger Son as the Hopes and Support of her Family, ſhe had taken Care to put about him none but thoſe, whoſe Wiſdom, Learning and Integrity might entitle them to a Share of the

Prince's Love; ſuch were his Governors, and of ſuch chiefly were his Houſhold compoſed. Theſe had taken Care to let the Prince know, that he need not deſpair of one Day wearing the Crown of *Portugal*, for that there was no great Likelihood of his Brother's ever having any Children; but at the ſame time they told him, that there was nothing but *Melhor* was capable of doing, to keep him from inheriting the Crown, ſince he was well aſſur'd that he muſt never hope for any Share in the Miniſtry, when Don *Pedro* ſhould aſcend the Throne.

By Degrees theſe different Views and Intereſts divided the Court into two Cabals; the Count indeed had the greateſt Number on his Side, there being more who love to go with the Stream, than againſt it. But the ableſt Stateſmen, who plainly ſaw that ſo violent and arbitrary a Government could not laſt long, with all the Grandees, and the beſt of the Nobility, who would not cringe to ſuch a Favourite as the King's was, were always about the Prince, to whom they paid their Reſpects as to the Heir apparent.

The Count being ſenſible that the Hope of the adverſe Faction was founded upon the Infirmity of the King, determin'd to deſtroy it at once, by marrying him; and by his Advice a Match was propoſed and concluded between the King and *Mary-Elizabeth-Frances* of *Savoy*, Daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Nemours*, and *Elizabeth de Vendome*. *Cæſar d'Eſtrées*, a Relation of hers, Biſhop and Duke of *Laon*, and known all over *Europe* by the Name of the illuſtrious Cardinal *d'Eſtrées*,

d'Eſtrées, conducted her into *Portugal*, accompany'd with the Marquis *de Ruvigni*, the *French* Ambaſſador, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality.

This Marriage was celebrated with all the Pomp and Magnificence imaginable. The whole Court admir'd the young Queen's extraordinary Beauty, but no one was more ſenſibly affected with it than the Prince. The King was the only Perſon who ſeem'd regardleſs of her Charms, and who by his Indifference ſoon convinc'd the whole Nation, that he had taken the Name of a Huſband, but was not capable of diſcharging the Duty of one.

Count *Melbor* had at firſt flatter'd himſelf with the Hopes of governing the Queen as well as the King, but ſoon found that ſhe had too great a Spirit for ſuch a Submiſſion. Enrag'd at this, he reſolv'd to loſe no Opportunity of revenging himſelf; all publick Buſineſs was carefully hid from her, all her Deſires were croſs'd; her Recommendation certainly excluded any Perſon from the Place to which ſhe recommended him. Shortly after, neither the Expences of her Houſhold, nor her own Penſions were paid, under Pretence that the War and other Neceſſities of the State had exhauſted the Royal Treaſury. And ſo inſolent was this haughty Miniſter to every Body, to the Prince himſelf, but eſpecially to the Queen, that ſhe has been often ſeen coming out of the King's Apartment bathed in Tears.

Her Beauty, her Merits, her Misfortunes, and the Complaints of all the Ladies of the Court, and the Officers of the Queen's Houſhold, whoſe Salaries were ſtopped, touched the Hearts of all thoſe who had not an immediate Dependance on the Miniſter; and theſe formed a third Party at Court, where nothing now was talk'd of but the Improbability of the Queen's having any Children, tho' ſhe had not yet been married a Year.

What increaſed every one's Suſpicion, was the Report which was ſpread of a private Door, which by the King's Order was made in the Queen's Chamber, and opened juſt againſt her Bed-ſide, and of which he himſelf kept the Key. The Queen was alarm'd at the Novelty of the Thing, and the Danger to which ſhe ſaw her Honour expoſed. And many concluded, that this was an Artifice of *Melhor*'s, who, notwithſtanding the Infirmity of the King, was nevertheleſs reſolved that the Queen ſhould have Children.

The poor unfortunate Princeſs diſcovered her Apprehenſions to her Confeſſor, with Orders to impart them to the Prince's. Theſe two religious Men adviſed them to unite their Cabals, and go Hand in Hand together in a Matter ſo much the Concern of them both. The Count of *Schomberg* was eaſily drawn into this Party, and the Prince took Care to make himſelf beloved by the Magiſtrates of the City, and all thoſe who had any Influence over the People.

It would have been a very eaſy Matter to have puſhed the King from out his Throne, had

had he not had a Miniſter to ſupport him, who was ambitious, could govern the King as he pleaſed, make him do any thing, and who would ſpare no Pains to preſerve himſelf at the Head of Affairs; the only way therefore of compaſſing their Ends, was to remove this Man, which was at laſt brought about in this Manner. One of his Friends was bribed to tell him, that the Prince had ſwore he would ſacrifice him, if he continued any longer at Court. The Count upon this Information doubled the Guards, arm'd all the Officers of the Houſhold, and would have had the King go at the Head of them, and ſeize the Prince. But as furious as the King was in his Midnight-Revels and Debauches, he had not Courage enough to attempt any thing of this Nature, juſtly fearing that he ſhould meet with no ſmall Reſiſtance. Wherefore he only wrote a Letter to the Prince, to order him to come to the Palace. He excuſed himſelf, objecting that he could not come whilſt the Count was at Court, who had ſpread ſo many Stories to his Diſadvantage, and endeavour'd all he could to blaſt his Reputation; beſides which, the Count was Maſter of the Palace, and that therefore he feared he could not be in Safety there. Several Letters paſſed between the King and Prince; the former offered, that *Melhor* ſhould come, and on his Knees beg his Pardon. But this was not what the Prince wanted, and he openly refuſed to come to Court till *Melhor* was baniſh'd from it.

The News of this had put *Liſbon* into a ſtrange Confuſion, and a Civil War was juſt

breaking out; but *Melhor* with Grief perceiv'd that *Schomberg* favour'd the other Party, and that the Grandees of the Kingdom had all unanimouſly declared themſelves in Favour of the Prince: who, aſſiſted alſo by the Queen's Friends, grew too powerful for him. Nay, *Melhor*'s very Relations, and thoſe whom he had raiſed, forſook him, and told him, that if he muſt ſink, he ſhould ſink alone. Wherefore diſguiſing himſelf, he by Night eſcaped from the Palace, and retired to a Monaſtery ſeven Leagues from *Liſbon*; which he ſoon after left, to ſeek a ſure Refuge in the Court of *Turin*.

Upon this the Prince immediately came to the Palace, to pay his Devoirs to the King; every thing fell under his Management, and he ſoon diſperſed all the late Favourite's Creatures. The King, deſtitute of Counſel, lay at the Prince's Mercy, who had a Deſign upon, but durſt not as yet touch his Crown, for Fear of being thought an Uſurper; but waited with Patience till it ſhould be given him by Lawful Authority, that is, by a Decree of the States of the Kingdom.

But then it was in the King's Power only to call together this Aſſembly of the States, which he was often adviſed to do, there being an abſolute Neceſſity of their Meeting, to remedy the preſent Grievances of the Nation.

The King was not ſo weak, but he plainly perceiv'd that this Advice was given him, with a Deſign to transfer the Royalty from himſelf to his Brother; wherefore he long refus'd it, but was at laſt ſo preſs'd to it, both by his Council, and by different Petitions from ſeveral

veral Parts of the Kingdom, that he call'd them together, and they were order'd to meet on the 1ſt of *January*, 1668.

The Prince having obtain'd this, which he look'd upon as a ſure Step to the Throne, gave the Queen Notice, that it was Time for her now to appear, and play her Part. Upon which ſhe immediately retired into a Convent, and wrote a Letter to the King, to tell him, that ſhe thought herſelf in Conſcience obliged to quit the Palace, ſince he was not capable of being her Huſband; that he was very ſenſible that their Marriage was never conſummated, and that therefore ſhe begg'd that he would repay her *her* Portion, and give her Leave to return to her Country, and amongſt her own Relations.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the King in a great Rage flew towards the Convent, to fetch the Queen back to the Palace by Force; but the Prince, who foreſaw the Effect of her Meſſage, took Care to be at the Convent-Door, with all the Nobility, and told his Brother this was a Place too ſacred to have any Violence us'd in it, and perſuaded, or rather forc'd the King to return to the Palace, who all the Way complain'd of being calumniated, and was bringing half the Proſtitutes of *Liſbon* to prove his Virility, and ſwore that he would be reveng'd both on the Queen and the Prince.

But Don *Pedro* was not in the leaſt frightned at his Menaces, knowing that the whole Power of the Kingdom was in his own Hands; and the next Morning (thinking it unſafe to delay the mighty Work any longer) *Nov.* 23, 1667.

order'd the Council to aſſemble, and follow'd by the Nobility, the Magiſtracy, and a whole Crowd of People, who wanted to ſee the Event of this Buſineſs, he went into the Palace to them; and after a ſhort Debate, an Order was ſent by the Prince to arreſt the King, who ſhortly after this ſign'd his own Abdication.

Notwithſtanding this, the Prince would not take any other Title, but that of Regent; under which Name the States of the Kingdom took the Oath of Allegiance to him.

The next Thing he did, was to ſecure a Peace with *Spain*; the King of *England* made himſelf their Mediator; and *Spain*, by a ſo-
Feb. 13, 1668. lemn Treaty, acknowledg'd the Crown of *Portugal* independent of the Crown of *Spain*.

But one Thing was ſtill wanting to compleat the Regent's Happineſs: He loved his Siſter-in-law; who, as ſoon as ſhe was got
Nov. 22, 1667. into the Convent, had preſented a Petition to the Chapter of the Cathedral of *Liſbon*, to deſire them, during the Vacancy of the *Holy See*, that a *Marriage* which had remained unconſummated, after a Cohabitation of fifteen Months, might be *diſſolv-*
March 24, 1668. *ed.* The Chapter declared it *Invalid, without any other Judicial Formalities, than the Negation of the Proctor, and the Non-appearance of the Party complain'd againſt; the Impediment; as the* SENTENCE *imports; being reduced to a moral Certainty, without any Neceſſity of farther Proofs, or a longer Delay* *. And by means of theſe Formalities,

* *See* a Relation of the Troubles in the Court of *Portugal*, Printed at *Paris* for *Clouſier*, 1674.

lities, which the Judges, for the Generality, know how to accommodate to the Inclinations of thoſe who hold the Reins of Government; the *Regent* beheld himſelf qualified to marry the *Queen*. He was adviſed, however, *to preſerve the Air of Decorum as much as poſſible*, to procure a *Diſpenſation* from the *Holy See*. This was effected by a caſual Conjunction of happy Circumſtances, which, it muſt be confeſſed, ſeemed to have been not a little premeditated; that Monſieur *Verjus* ſhould arrive in *France*, at this very Juncture, with the *Diſpenſation*. A *Brief* had been alſo obtained from the Cardinal *de Vendoſme*, who was then the Pope's Legate *à Latere*, and had been inveſted with that Temporary Honour, to aſſiſt, in the Name of his Holineſs, at the Ceremony of the Dauphin's *Baptiſm*. The Biſhop of *Targa*, Coadjutor to the Archbiſhop of *Liſbon*, gave the *Nuptial Benediction* to the Regent and the Queen, by Virtue of that Brief, which has ſince been confirm'd by another of Pope INNOCENT the XIth, and which was thought neceſſary for the Satisfaction of their Conſciences, and the Tranquility of the Kingdom. *March* 2, 1668. *Dec.* 10, 1668.

The King, Don ALPHONSO, was confin'd to the Iſlands of *Tercera*, which are Part of the *Portugueſe* Dominions. The Populace, who always intereſt themſelves in the Calamities of the Unfortunate, took the Liberty to declare aloud, That it was ſufficient to have deprived him of his Crown and Conſort, without refuſing him the Privilege of breathing his native Air. Don *Alphonſo's* Exile.

But

But a *Prince*, when he is once *dethroned*, is ſeldom ſo happy as to find many Protectors. There was not one of the Grandees who would preſume to intercede in his Favour; and they had Reaſon to be apprehenſive, that the *Regent* would not pardon any Inſtances of Compaſſion that were injurious to his Government. Don *Alphonſo* continued in his Exile till the Year 1675, when he was recalled by the *Regent*, who permitted him to return to *Portugal*, from a Suſpicion he had entertained, that this *Prince* had formed a Party to diſpoſſeſs the Crown of the Iſlands of *Tercera*, and to re-eſtabliſh himſelf on the Throne.

He died in the Neighbourhood of *Liſbon*, *Anno* 1683; and upon his Demiſe, the *Regent*, *Don* PEDRO, at laſt, aſſumed the *Title* of KING, which he would not during his Brother's Life accept; and this was, in Fact, the only Property of which he had not before diveſted that unfortunate Prince.

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APPENDIX

Of ſome very material

PARTICULARS

Relating to the

Hiſtory of PORTUGAL.

Now firſt tranſlated from the laſt Edition of this WORK. Printed at *Paris* in the Year 1726.

APPENDIX.

NUMB. I.

LAWS Regulating the *Portugueſe* SUCCESSION.

In an Aſſembly of the Grandees of *Portugal*, the Fundamental Laws which regulate the *Succeſſion* to the *Crown* were eſtabliſhed.

MAY OUR SOVEREIGN LORD *ALPHONSO* LIVE, AND REIGN OVER US (as is expreſſed in the *Firſt* ARTICLE of theſe LAWS) *viz.* "If he ſhall have Male Iſ-
"ſue, they ſhall be our Kings.
"The Son ſhall ſucceed the Fa-

" ther, and then the Grandſon,
" and afterwards the Son of the
" Great Grandſon, and their De-
" ſcendants in perpetual Succeſ-
" ſion.

ARTICLE II.

" IF the eldeſt Son of the King
" ſhall die in the Life-time of his
" Father, the Second Son ſhall be
" our Sovereign after the Demiſe
" of the King his Father; the
" Third Son ſhall ſucceed the Se-
" cond; the Fourth ſhall reign
" after the Third; and in like
" manner with relation to the other
" Sons of the King.

ARTICLE III.

" IF the King ſhall die with-
" out Male Iſſue, his Brother, if
" there be one, ſhall be our
" King; but the Crown ſhall be
" only limited to him during his
" Life;

" Life; for upon his Demiſe the
" Son of this laſt King ſhall not
" be our Sovereign, unleſs he be
" elected by the Biſhops and the
" States, and then he ſhall be our
" King, but upon no other Con-
" dition.

ARTICLES IV and V.

" IF the King of *Portugal* ſhould
" have no Child but a Daughter,
" ſhe ſhall be Queen after the De-
" miſe of the King, provided ſhe
" conſent to marry a *Portugueſe*
" Nobleman; but he ſhall not
" bear the Title of *King*, till he
" ſhall have a Son by the Queen
" he eſpouſed: And whenever he
" ſhall be in Company with the
" Queen, he ſhall walk on her Left
" Hand, and ſhall not place the
" Royal Crown on his Head.

ARTICLE VI.

" THIS Law ſhall be always
" obſerved; and the Eldeſt Daugh-
" ter of the King ſhall not eſpouſe
" any Perſon but a *Portugueſe*
" Nobleman, to the Intent that
" Foreign Princes may never be-
" come Maſters of this Kingdom.
" If the King's Daughter ſhall
" eſpouſe a Prince or a Nobleman
" of a Foreign Nation, ſhe ſhall
" never be acknowledged as Queen,
" becauſe our People ſhall not
" be obliged to obey a King
" who is not a *Portugueſe* by
" Birth; ſince they were our own
" Subjects and Countrymen, who,
" without any Foreign Aſſiſtance,
" but by their own Valour, and
" with the Expence of their Blood,
" have given us a King."

THESE

THESE wiſe Laws preſerved the Crown, for many Centuries, in the Royal Houſe of ALPHONSO; and his Succeſſors increas'd the Splendor and Power of the Monarchy by ſeveral important Conqueſts in *Africa*, the *Indies*, and even *America* itſelf. The *Portugueſe* can never be too much applauded for the Intrepidity and Conduct which they diſcover'd in Enterprizes ſo wonderful in their own Nature, and tranſacted at ſuch a Diſtance from their native Country. But amongſt the Advantages derived from ſuch extended Conqueſts, they have acquired the Glory of propagating the Chriſtian Religion, and the Knowledge of the True GOD, throughout idolatrous Kingdoms, and among whole Nations of *Barbarians*, wherein the Spiritual Conqueſts of the *Portugueſe* Miſſionaries have been

The Conqueſts and Elogium of the *Portugueſe*.

been as conſiderable as the victorious Progreſs of their Arms.

SUCH was the State of the Kingdom of *Portugal* towards the Year 1557, when Don SEBASTIAN aſcended the Throne: He was the Poſthumous Son of the Prince Don JOHN, who died before his Father King Don JOHN the IIId, who was the Son of the Great King EMANUEL.

IN the Year 1640, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter, that he might effectually weaken the *Portugueſe* Nobility, had iſſued out a Proclamation, in the Name of *Philip* IV. commanding all the Men of Quality to reſort immediately to the Army which was to march againſt the *Catalonians*, upon pain of forfeiting all their Eſtates which were held of the Crown; and he flatter'd himſelf that the Duke of *Braganza*, as he was

was hereditary Conſtable of *Portugal*, could not poſſibly prevail upon himſelf to be abſent upon this Occaſion. *See Page* 17.

THE Archbiſhop *Regent* diſpatched ſeveral Couriers, one after another, to the Duke of *Braganza*, to repreſent to him how important his Preſence would be at *Lisbon*. The laſt Courier found him, on the *Monday*, about the mid-way in the Plain of *Montemor*; where this timorous Prince, to diſguiſe the true Cauſe of his Journey, ſeemed to have no other Intention than to divert himſelf with Fowling. But when he had opened the *Regent*'s Packet, he immediately took Poſt-Horſes to carry him to *Aldegalegua*, which was eighteen Leagues from the Place where he was met by the Courier; and upon his Arrival there, having found a ſmall Veſſel with two Fiſhermen, he embarked,

and

and order'd them to convey him to *Lisbon*, croſs the *Tagus*, which, in that Place, is three Leagues from one Shore to the other. M. D'Allblancourt, Envoy from the late King of *France* to the Court of *Portugal*, relates, * that this Prince landed at the great Area before the Palace; which is an oblong Square of a large Extent, and bounded on one Side by three Courts of the Palace of *Alfardegua*, and a few private Houſes, and on the other by the *Tagus*, from which it is ſeparated by a low Wall, built in Form of a Terrace. This ſpacious Square was filled with an infinite Number of People of all Ranks, who, for two Days paſt, had been in conſtant Expectation of their KING, with their Eyes directed towards *Aldegalegua*; and not one of them, when they ſaw this Fiſher-boat, had the leaſt Suſpicion that the KING was

* See his *Memoirs*, which are tranſlated into *Engliſh*. 8vo.

was on Board; for he was not known by any Perſon among that innumerable Multitude which filled the Square, but paſſed through the Crowd like a private Perſon, and continued undiſcovered, till at laſt he aſcended a Scaffold, on which his Throne was erected; and then he was proclaimed KING, to the great Joy of all the *Portugueſe*. See *Page* 69.

THE greateſt Part of the Court ſet out for *Alcantara*, and the Queen ſaw herſelf in a manner forſaken; which immediately convinced her, that a *borrowed Authority* is incapable of ſubſiſting any longer than it derives its Support from a *legal Power*.

THE *Princeſs*, however, retained her uſual Preſence of Mind; and the generous and noble Air with which ſhe diveſted herſelf of Sove-

reign

reign Authority, made it evident that ſhe merited a longer Reign, and had only protracted her Regency for the public Good. *See Page 125.*

THIS unfortunate *Princeſs* diſcloſed her conſcientious Scruples to her Confeſſor, and by his Directions imparted them to the *Infant*'s Confeſſor. Theſe two Clergymen adviſed the Queen and Prince to deport themſelves with Unanimity in ſo delicate a Conjuncture, wherein the Intereſts of them both were ſo very conſiderable, though they might ſeem to be oppoſite in their Nature. Their Partiſans declared, that it would be eaſy to reconcile their Pretenſions; and endeavoured to revive the original Plan which had been concerted by the Regent. Theſe two Cabals ſoon united, and for the future compoſed one and the ſame Party. The Queen had

had the Dexterity to make her Views reliſhed by the Count *de Schomberg*, who had the Army at his Command; and the *Infant*, whoſe Deſires and Expectations were altogether unbounded, at the ſame time engaged the chief Magiſtrates of the City, and all thoſe who were in any conſiderable Credit with the People, to concur in the intended Operations.

THE *King* himſelf was but a mere Phantom of Majeſty, whoſe Diſappearance was eaſy to accompliſh; but he was ſupported by an artful and ambitious Miniſter, who had Abilities to give Importance to the venerable Name of Monarch. It was therefore of the utmoſt Conſequence to remove a Man of ſo much Capacity from Court; ſince it was evident, that he intended to reſign the Reins of Government as late as poſſible. In order to effect

this Deſign, one of his Friends was prevailed upon to acquaint him, that the *Infant* charged him with all the injurious Treatment he had received from the King, and had ſolemnly vowed his Deſtruction, if he reſolved to continue any longer at Court. *See Page* 132, 133.

STANZA's on Don ALONZO,

Who was *cut in Pieces* for *making Love* to the INFANTA of *Portugal*.

I.

HOW cruel was ALONZO's Fate,
To aim his *Love* ſo high,
That he muſt *periſh* by her *Hate*,
Or by her *Kindneſs* die!

II.

Tortur'd and mangled, cut and maim'd,
Triumphing o'er his *Pain*;
And, with his dying Breath, proclaim'd,
'Twas better than *Diſdain*.

III.

The gentle Nymph, long ſince deſign'd
For the proud *Frenchman*'s Bed,
Now to a *Holy Jail** confin'd,
Drops *Tears* with ev'ry *Bead*.

IV.

Tell me, ye *Gods*, if, where a *King*
Suffers for *Impotence*,
True Love be ſuch a *fatal Thing*,
What can be *Innocence*!

* A Convent.

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